

*School Life*

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Zeal for  
AMERICAN  
DEMOCRACY

Education to Meet the Challenge  
of Totalitarianism



# School Life

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## Purpose

The Congress of the United States established the United States Office of Education in 1867 to "collect such statistics and facts as shall show the condition and progress of education in the several States and Territories;" to "diffuse such information as shall aid in the establishment and maintenance of efficient school systems;" and to "otherwise promote the

**T**HE THEME of this issue of SCHOOL LIFE is "Zeal for American Democracy." Office of Education appreciation goes to the contributors who, in the truly American way, have exercised their democratic right of freedom of speech to present their personal viewpoints, both timely and challenging. By making this type of information available through SCHOOL LIFE, the Office of Education, in cooperation with State departments of education and schools and colleges throughout the United States, hopes to provide opportunity for new emphasis upon our democratic rights and responsibilities today and in the days ahead. American education can play a major role in strengthening our national security through renewed stress upon *Zeal for American Democracy* programs in each school and community.



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cause of education throughout the country." SCHOOL LIFE serves toward carrying out these purposes. Its printing is approved by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget.

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Courtesy, New York Times.

## COMMUNISM'S CHALLENGE TO AMERICAN EDUCATION

This address by Commissioner John W. Studebaker was delivered at the convention of the National Council for the Social Studies in St. Louis, Mo., November 28 and 29, 1947

**I**N A VERY LITERAL sense education is the great conserving influence in our civilization. As trustee for posterity, American education serves to preserve, protect, develop, and transmit to each succeeding generation the glorious heritage of freedom and democracy that is ours as a people. Today, even more than in the past, the faithful discharge of that responsibility is imperative.

### **The Challenge of Communism**

We live in epic times. We are participants in a dramatic clash between two opposing sets of ideas, two contrast-

ing philosophies of life and of social organization—those of democracy vs. dictatorship, of free enterprise vs. communism, of individualism vs. collectivism. The conflict is where it always has been since man began to grope for realization of his God-given potentialities; it is the never-ending clash between democracy and totalitarianism, between the aspirations of the human heart to be free and the schemes by which relatively few men contrive through centralization of power in the state to suppress those aspirations. So it is totalitarianism in any form that is abhorrent to those of us who now enjoy

the hard-won blessings of our American democratic way of life.

Having at great cost in lives and in treasure recently put an end, at least temporarily, to dictatorships of the Nazi and Fascist varieties, America is presently challenged by the menace of Communist aggression abroad and of Communist infiltration at home. It is for this reason that emphasis is here given to the Communist species of totalitarianism.

In view of all the portents, he is a blind optimist, indeed, who can regard with complacency the trend of events; who can fail to be stirred by the threat



to our American democratic way of life inherent in the very character and tactics of communism. No amount of wishful thinking, no temptation to seek peace for our generation by appeasement or by retiring into a new isolationism should obscure the precarious world situation in which America today finds itself. The issue must be faced. Democracy and Communist dictatorship represent two antithetical systems of belief and of government. We cannot have both. The differences are too wide to be bridged.

### **Democracy and Communism Compared**

Let us briefly review some of these differences. Democracy is devoted to the enhancement of the individual. Communism relegates the individual to the anonymity of the mass, the proletariat, the state. Although the Communists have loudly professed devotion to democracy and human freedom, their actions belie their words.

Democracy encourages tolerance and permits, even nourishes, heterodoxy. Communism insists upon conformity and Party regularity. Under communism the monolithic state encompasses all interests and institutions of society. All the instrumentalities of communication and control are brought under its rigorous direction. Concentration camps, imprisonment, or exile are employed against political dissenters. Education is corrupted and centrally controlled. Religion is first ridiculed and stifled, then made captive by the state.

Not content with despotic power at home, the dictator reaches out for power and control abroad. Communism becomes a creed for foreign propagation. The Party establishes its own revolutionary international organization by which it supports and directs the various national Communist Parties acting as its agents for revolution; for the propagation of its evil doctrines in every country; for the radical or revolutionary overthrow of all democratic, political, economic, and social institutions in favor of an ostensible dictatorship of the proletariat which in reality proves to be the dictatorship of a Party clique. By the promotion of class strife; by the enforcement of strict and unquestion-

ing obedience of Party members; by teaching and practicing the evil arts of conspiracy and dissimulation; and by utilizing lies and organized violence and hate as means which it fully justifies by its ends, communism seeks to achieve its ultimate objectives.

### **World-Wide Revolution as a Communist Objective**

What are these ultimate objectives? Let me refresh your memory on this score by quoting briefly from part of a statement adopted at the forty-sixth session of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, meeting in Moscow in September 1928. This statement, in essence, has been frequently reiterated in recent years by Communist leaders. I quote:

"The conquest of power by the proletariat does not mean *peacefully* capturing the ready-made bourgeois state machinery by means of a parliamentary majority. The conquest of power by the proletariat is the *violent* overthrow of bourgeois power, the destruction of the capitalist state apparatus (bourgeois armies, police, bureaucratic hierarchy, the judiciary, parliaments, etc.) and substituting in its place new organs of proletarian power . . ."

This ultimate objective of international communism, i. e., world-wide proletarian revolution and control of society, is shared by the various national branches of the Communist Party, including the Communist Party in the United States. Here, as elsewhere, the Party has sought to win over for its purposes the naive and unwary. It has set up a variety of "front organizations" which, concealed behind high-sounding names, serve but to advance its cause. It has endeavored with some success to place its agents in key positions in labor, in youth groups, and in various educational and religious organizations, to control their policies and bring their influence to bear on public issues in ways which serve to promote the ultimate attainment of Communist objectives.

### **Russian People Distinguished From Communist System**

I would not overemphasize, neither would I minimize, the potential domes-

tic threat which is posed by the presence in our midst of many thousands of Communist Party members, pledged to follow the international Party line and dedicated to the *violent overthrow* of our form of government and the destruction of the American way of life.

Neither have I any desire to arouse bitterness and resentment toward the Russian people themselves. With respect to the human impulse to be free, the teeming millions of Russia, aside from the relatively small percentage who are members of the ruling dictatorial Party are, I am convinced, not very different from the people of the United States, representing as we do a melting pot of the nations of Europe and the whole world. While we were winning our freedom, the struggling masses of Russia yearned for theirs.

American traditions are deeply embedded in the aspirations of our forefathers. You will remember Thomas Jefferson said, "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against any form of tyranny over the mind of man." Thus it is that by inheritance our generation detests tyranny in any form or time or place. Consequently, we are bitterly opposed to the revolutionary objectives of international communism, which seeks by means of its fifth columns to destroy the free democracies of the world.

We, therefore, must be realistically aware of the potential domestic threat which communism holds for our American way of life, as well as being disposed to assist in the rehabilitation of the European democracies struggling to retain their freedom against the very present threat of Communist engulfment. And our millions of youth as well as our adults must be prepared to meet that threat. It is still true that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

### **What Can Education Do To Meet the Challenge of Communism?**

Now what can American education do to meet the growing menace and the challenge of communism?

First and foremost, education can help to strengthen democracy at home. This is no new idea. It's almost bromidic, platitudinous. Yet it is basic, fundamental. This need has emerged



again and again in the context of various pronouncements by Government officials and others in recent months.

For one example, the President's Advisory Commission on Universal Training put this point first in outlining the elements in an integrated program for the national defense. Said the Commission:

"A strong, united nation is our Number One security requirement . . . We must concentrate our attention on keeping democracy vibrant and alive to expanding social and economic needs. In particular we must be concerned with the following things:

"1. A healthy economy reflected in full production, full employment, industrial peace, and the avoidance of recurring economic crises or inflation . . .

"2. A high general level of education throughout the country with advanced schooling made the privilege of all who can qualify for it by their own merit . . .

"3. Improved physical and mental health, not only for the happiness they would bring, but also to make available to the country, in peace or war, its full potential manpower resources . . .

"4. An understanding of democracy and an increased sense of personal responsibility on the part of every individual for making democracy work . . ."

As another example—J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, in a magazine article on how to fight communism in America, ends a list of "don'ts" with these:

"Don't label anyone as a Communist unless you have the facts.

"Don't confuse liberals and progressives with Communists.

"Don't be a party to the violation of the civil rights of anyone.

*"Don't fail to make democracy work, with equal opportunity and the fullest enjoyment of every American's right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."*<sup>1</sup>

### Some Categorical Imperatives

May I add to Mr. Hoover's excellent list of "don'ts" some suggestions of a more positive character addressed particularly to the educational profession. They are:

*Do* give young people a clear understanding of the essential elements of the American democratic way of life.

*Do* develop a true appreciation on the part of American youth of their glorious American heritage of freedom wrung from the bitter struggle of centuries.

*Do* contrast very concretely the philosophy and practices of democracy with those of dictatorship.

<sup>1</sup> *Newsweek*, June 9, 1947.

*Do* help young people to recognize the elements of Communist strategy and to be intelligent and skillful in thwarting that strategy.

*Do* give them a vision of the possibilities of a future world of freedom, justice, peace, and plenty.

*Do* give them an understanding and appreciation of the ethical and spiritual values, as well as the material benefits, of the American Way of Life.

*Do* inspire them with the resolve and with the zeal to do their full part in helping to *improve* the working of democracy.

To suggest that the working of American democracy can be improved is not a confession of failure; nor is it to belittle our accomplishments, as some people would erroneously suppose. Our American democratic ideals of government and society have produced the highest material standards of living for our people of any ever recorded on the face of the earth. Of our other accomplishments, in cultural as well as material affairs, we can rightfully be proud. We need make no apologies for the American way of life, for the ideals toward which we strive. While less than perfect, while in need of many improvements, our way of life has within itself the means for its peaceful and lawful fulfillment. No system in-



These four school newspaper reporters are "covering" the city hall "beat" learning how their local government functions.

volving fallible human beings will ever attain perfection. But measured against any rival system of society, American democracy is so far superior as to warrant our staunchest support against all enemies and traducers, either foreign or domestic.

The time is here when in the interest of national strength and security we must make a more determined and successful effort than ever before to inculcate in the minds and hearts of our American youth the basic principles and the fundamental ideals of our American way of life, to create zeal for American democracy. This is not to depreciate the work of our schools and

sabotage and destruction, democratic men ought to be able to counter the attack with concentrated training of specialists in resistance. If the Communists can graduate skilled disturbers to send into other men's countries to prepare democracies for slavery, surely American educational leadership and teachers can prepare wise and skilled defenders of the free society.

I have said that the schools and colleges of America have the responsibility of inculcating our democratic ideals and modes of conduct in every youth approaching the obligation of adulthood. Successfully to do so demands that we ourselves as teachers, all of us, must

social studies teachers. I am not implying that any of you have been derelict in meeting your professional responsibilities. You have done and are doing a good job in the main. But I believe all of you will agree that there is need for and possibility of very great improvement. If you and I didn't think such improvement possible, we would not be attending this meeting.

How can the social studies teachers help in the development of a more effective program of civic education which will result in a greater zeal for American democracy among the youth of the land? In addressing myself to that question, although what I shall say has mainly to do with the high schools, and to some extent with the colleges, I do not overlook the basic contribution the elementary schools have made and can make to civic education, especially in the development of democratic attitudes in the field of human relations. Because the problems of civic education in the secondary schools and colleges are more complicated at the moment at least, than in the elementary schools, and because adequate solutions to these problems in the higher levels will require something resembling a major operation, I shall not at this time deal specifically with the needs in the elementary schools.

Unfortunately, there is some reason to believe that many pupils leave our high schools with very hazy notions about democracy. A few years ago the Educational Policies Commission published an excellent case book under the title *Learning the Ways of Democracy*. In preparing the book, the Commission asked some 2,000 pupils in 68 different classes in about 40 high schools to write brief statements explaining what "democracy" meant to them. Most of them thought of democracy in terms of rights and privileges—and these democratic human and political rights are important. But fewer than one-third of the high-school pupils questioned had any seeming sense of democratic responsibilities, any apparent concern about what they might do to make democracy more successful—particularly as to economic opportunities and matters of human relations.

Let me hasten to add that since the study referred to was made, many



Learning to think intelligently and to express viewpoints effectively are essentials for citizens in a democracy

colleges in the past. No one who knows what has been transpiring in the thousands of classrooms of America over the years can doubt the claim that the schools and colleges have been the greatest single force making for our integration as a liberty-loving people.

But educational agencies can and must serve more effectively than ever before in developing a zealous dedication to democracy. They can and must, in addition, make clear by contrast the threat involved in the Communist ideology, with its overt and covert effort to undermine and to subvert our western democratic civilization.

If in their universities of revolution the Communists can train men of other people's countries to be specialists in

believe in democracy, believe in it with a flaming faith based on the clearest intellectual and moral conviction and that we unswervingly communicate our faith to the pupils in our charge.

### **Responsibility of Teachers of the Social Studies**

All teachers at all levels and in all subjects and activities make or can make vitally important contributions to American citizenship. The elements of democratic faith and habits cannot be bottled up completely in any one subject matter field. But there is no other single group in America with so heavy a responsibility or so great an opportunity for the progressive realization of the American democratic ideal as the



schools have greatly improved their emphasis on the various elements in civic education. Thus I understand that in the city of Tulsa, Okla., for example, the senior high school course in American history now includes a unit called "The American Dream" dealing primarily with the American ideal of equal opportunity and all that it implies. I am informed that twelfth grade pupils in the Roosevelt High School in my old home city of Des Moines, Iowa, study a unit of work dealing with "Democracy and Its Competitors," which contrasts the principles of democracy with those of communism and fascism, and includes a consideration of ways of preserving and improving democracy in the United States.

Yet, in spite of these and other examples of innovating practices and new emphases in the social studies program of the high schools, I think you will agree that in too many high schools grave handicaps and deficiencies continue to exist. These extend not alone to the materials and methods of instruction in the social studies, but also to the limited time allotments and the general failure to focus instruction on problems of the contemporary national and international scene.

### **How Much and What Kind of Social Studies Shall We Teach?**

More specifically, I refer to the fact that in the 26,000 high schools of this country there is little agreement as to how much or what kind of social studies shall be taught.

To be sure, a year of American history in effect is required of all pupils, and pupils on the average elect an additional year of social studies. But this elective course is one thing for some pupils—quite another thing for others. For example, some pupils take World Geography; others, World History. Many pupils take Problems of Democracy, and smaller numbers elect courses in economics, sociology, social problems, and government.

Frankly, I do not believe that a year of "World Geography" can be equated with a year of "World History," or either of these courses with a year of "Problems of Democracy." Nor do I believe that it makes no difference whether or not a pupil has had a chance

to learn about the long struggle by which the rights of American democracy were secured. I believe that *every* pupil should have a chance to learn how difficult it was to establish freedom of speech and of the press, freedom of religion, the right of habeas corpus, and the other American freedoms. I believe that *all* American boys and girls need a year of World History to understand how precious is our heritage of freedom and to appreciate the role of the United States in today's world.

I don't believe that we can leave it to chance whether or not pupils in our schools learn about how modern man is influenced by his geographic environ-

inflation and recession, taxation and governmental expenditures, how the great industries of this nation have developed, the relation of economic freedom to civil liberties, and what stake each of us has in the economic well-being of all of us. All pupils need to know about how our social institutions have developed, that institutions exist for man and not man for institutions, and that serious social problems arise only when institutions break down. Finally I believe that all pupils need to know much more about our government—Federal, State, and local—and of the responsibilities each of us must assume for making these governments



Student council elections furnish laboratories for democratic experiences in schools.

ment, and how he in turn shapes this environment to his needs. Every pupil needs to understand the facts about natural resources and the need for conservation; about trade and manufacture, transportation and communication, and the interdependence of nations. I believe that every pupil needs to study the geography of the British Commonwealth, the Soviet Union, Latin America, the Far East, Europe, and the United States and its neighbors. The geographic treatment I have in mind is not the geography of the elementary grades. It is a course in World Geography appropriate for high-school pupils.

In the same way, I do not believe that we can leave to chance whether or not pupils learn about supply and demand,

function efficiently and democratically.

Obviously all of this necessary social studies instruction adds up to more than 2 years of course work. We shall do well if it is satisfactorily compassed in 4 years.

### **Revision of Time Allotments for the Social Studies**

What I am really advocating therefore is that we in education must take a step which is long overdue. I propose that we make a thoroughgoing re-examination of What the High Schools Ought to Teach. When we do that, I believe we will be convinced of the imperative need to bring up young citizens who really understand and cherish American democracy, who are well informed and skillful in thwarting

the purposes of totalitarians, and who understand and accept their responsibilities in today's rapidly shrinking and increasingly interdependent world. I do not see how these needs can be met in less time than 4 years of required work in social studies in grades 9-12. I am thinking of a requirement for all pupils, and I have in mind courses which consist of 5 periods per week. And I would argue that all college students, also, should take a sequence of required social science courses and that every effort should be made to provide for articulation between the secondary and college levels and to insure the development of a well-planned program which is challenging at each level.

I make the suggestion on time allotment for the serious consideration of all educational administrators, supervisors, and teachers. Just how to provide the suggested amount of time for the social studies will have to be determined. No doubt a revamping of the entire program schedule as well as the curriculum is in order. Perhaps the customary number of periods of study per day or per week for all pupils will have to be increased, thus lengthening somewhat the pupils' school day or week. Possibly other subject fields may have to give way to some extent. In any event, I know the time has come when we can take no chances on the soundness of our methods of preparing youth for American democratic citizenship. We must now be certain that we know what product in citizenship our educational process is turning out. We must know this by using periodically, throughout the years young people are in school, ingeniously devised and dependable measurements of the developing adequacy of our products. No industrial manufacturing establishment—an automobile factory, for instance—could survive if it produced too many "seconds." It will be equally fatal to American democratic life if we produce too many "seconds" in the quality of citizenship of American youth. I know too much about education to believe that our problem in measuring output is as easy as the manufacturer's; but, nevertheless, I emphasize the necessity for carrying further than ever before our techniques of measurement of our citizenship products and the improvement

of our policies for preparing youth and for applying necessary remedial methods.

The days are gone when a combination of fortunate circumstances made it possible for us in this country to succeed with the evolution and progress of American democracy, even though our schools were not adequately supported and staffed; when we as citizens in general and as educators could tolerate some carelessness, so to speak, in preparing youth for citizenship. Now we face stern realities. Now when our pupils come off the education assembly line, we must be sure that no one of them lacks anything essential to high quality performance on the highway of American citizenship. The public and all of us engaged professionally in educational work must be satisfied with no lesser achievement.

### **Better Instructional Materials Necessary**

It goes without saying that a program of this kind cannot achieve the desired results if only presently available instructional materials are used throughout. I do not have time to develop in detail what I feel must be done to improve instructional materials, but I would like to make three general suggestions. (1) We need materials which are much more concrete and specific, detailed and up to date, less abstract, less generalized, and less antiquated. Perhaps this goal can be achieved in large part by producing supplementary materials in pamphlet or magazine form. (2) We need materials geared to the abilities of all pupils who will attend our high schools. At the present time the needs of so-called nonacademic pupils simply are not being met. (3) We need materials which are sharply focused on the important concepts to be developed and which do more than merely provide an encyclopedic and necessarily superficial knowledge of a subject field.

### **Teaching Procedures**

With reference to teaching procedures, I will only hazard the point of view, which I believe all of you will accept, that social studies teaching must go far beyond the mere rote assignment of lessons and the quizzing of pupils. Pupils must become proficient in the skills of inquiry and of discussion, and

they must develop habits of discriminating radio listening and reading. They must be afforded learning experiences geared to their maturity level; and these experiences must call for more than passive learning or absorption. The schools must help American youth to identify democratic values and to act cooperatively and efficiently in a wide variety of real life situations.

If a program of civic education is to be effective, pupils must become expert, as I have said, in the techniques of inquiry and of group discussion. In the high school of Eugene, Oregon, for example, general classes are organized as "democracies" and run according to standard rules of procedure in handling group affairs. In Friends' Central School, Philadelphia, pupils take part in discussions at the student round tables of the Foreign Policy Association of Philadelphia and broadcast unrehearsed discussions of topics considered as an integral part of their class work. In New York City, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, and elsewhere, high-school pupils have taken part in round-table discussions based on Nation-wide educational broadcasts sponsored by the major networks.

Pupils need instruction on how public opinion is formed, how it becomes effective, and how the individual citizen can help to shape sound opinion. There is a place also for teaching pupils how to use official reports and Government documents, how to fill in tax forms and other statements, and how to mark ballots or use voting machines. In some communities pupils have initiated and carried out successful campaigns to "get out the vote" in municipal and general elections.

Classroom discussions of the civil liberties need to be stimulated by using current affairs publications, the radio scripts in the "Let Freedom Ring" series of the U. S. Office of Education, and a variety of radio broadcasts, and moving pictures. Pupils in Cleveland, Ohio, high schools, for example, study a unit, "The Struggle for Personal and Political Liberty." In this unit they consider the following questions:

- Are the liberties provided in the Constitution threatened today?
- Are the constitutional guarantees of certain liberties ever used to secure unfair advantages?



Are laws relating to slander and libel consistent with ideals of liberty? Why?

Can you show that every liberty imposes a duty?

Are the people who demand personal liberties for themselves always willing to extend the same liberties to others?

### **Implications for Teacher Education**

The implications of all this for teacher education are far reaching. Every teacher in every field should have a well-grounded understanding of American democracy and, during the period of preservice training, should become proficient in the use of democratic classroom practices. Furthermore all teachers must keep reasonably well informed about the major issues of contemporary society. Greater attention must be given to the development by all teachers of skill in using the techniques of inquiry and of discussion involving the use not alone of textbooks and library references but of the radio, classroom periodicals, newspapers, news magazines, and pamphlet literature as well.

### **U. S. Office of Education Will Assist**

So much for some of the problems and possible lines of improvement that confront us in the social studies field if we are to make our full contribution to the improvement of American democracy in the face of the emergent challenge of communism. It was because of a growing conviction of the urgent desirability of strengthening the teaching of democratic principles, of kindling a brighter-burning zeal for democracy in our American youth that the Eightieth Congress appropriated funds to enable the U. S. Office of Education to provide additional leadership to schools and colleges desirous of strengthening their work in this all-important field of education. It is too early to announce in detail just what assistance we shall be able to make available. We are now engaged in the important task of recruiting additional staff in the social science fields at the elementary, secondary, and higher education levels. When the staff has been secured, we propose,

in cooperation with educational groups, such as the National Council for the Social Studies and others, and with the advice and counsel of lay groups and organizations, to plan in some detail the development and promotion of a program of action having certain immediate and long-term objectives in the improvement of education for democratic citizenship in the schools and colleges of America.

The effectuation of any program of action in this field will not be easy. As you well know—better than I—the problems are numerous and difficult. Much that is vital in this field is also highly controversial.

I shall not be surprised if from certain quarters, perhaps anonymous, an effort is made to raise suspicion in the minds of educators and others and to stir up discord in their ranks respecting the propriety of any concerted program of this sort.

But in spite of the possibility of these and other difficulties, some of which we cannot now anticipate, we propose that the U. S. Office of Education should do its best to provide assistance to the schools and colleges to the fullest extent of its resources. I am convinced that a great majority of the American people, as well as of the educational profession, are desirous of forthright patriotic emphasis and of improved results in this field of instruction, and that with the cooperation of such groups as your own, the effort can be of lasting value.

You know that as I speak I know that the U. S. Commissioner of Education has no authority to *tell* you to do anything. I am proud of the existing arrangement of Federal-State relations in education under which the State systems and institutions of education are entirely free of domination by the Federal Government. Any ideas we have in the United States Office of Education must therefore win acceptance in the States only on the basis of their merit and their adaptability to the needs of the respective schools and colleges and through *voluntary* acceptance by the appropriate officials and teachers in the local schools and institutions throughout the country. This is indeed democracy at work between the Federal Government and the States.

I have always done everything I

could do as Commissioner of Education to insure the maintenance of the policy of Federal-State relations in education referred to. I hope the day will never come when any U. S. Commissioner of Education or any other person in the Federal Government will have the authority to tell you what you must do.

Note that I am not suggesting that we educators, much less the U. S. Office of Education, should undertake to provide children and youth with ready-made solutions of our current pressing domestic or international problems. That would be absurd. Each generation must, in the main, stand on its own feet, solve its own problems. It is to the present generation of adults, rather than to our youth, that society must look for solutions of today's vexing problems.

But upon us as educators, as I said at the outset, does devolve the largest share of responsibility for the development in the oncoming generation of youth of those understandings, skills, attitudes, and ideals which will make for effective and very active American citizenship and world cooperation for peace. These, we educators can teach, with assurance and enthusiasm, convinced that the understandings and competencies we develop in young people today will enable them to carry forward with unflinching determination the torch of freedom, justice, and humanity tomorrow.

### **In Conclusion**

The strong will prevail! And the free must be strong! A nation cannot be strong unless it is united in support of a common civic and social creed. The American creed is that of democracy and human liberty. That creed cannot be viewed with apathy and indifference. It must be propagated and supported with an individual and collective passion by all good Americans. The propagation of that creed is a fundamental objective of American education, the improvement and successful working of democracy our continuing goal and determination. Both as patriotic citizens and as teachers we shall rededicate our efforts to that end. This must be and is education's answer to the challenge of communism and to any other form of totalitarianism.

# The Threat of Communism Today

by the Honorable Everett M. Dirksen, Member of the United States  
House of Representatives from Illinois

**D**ANIEL WEBSTER once observed that when enough people, either through design or indifference, were ready for the destruction of the Constitution, then would our charter of freedom and popular government truly be in jeopardy. Similarly, when enough people for any reason become interested in destroying or modifying freedom, it will indeed be in peril. There must be a zeal for freedom, a zeal for democracy if it is to survive.

But who are these people who menace freedom and democracy by toying with foreign "isms" and notably communism? Who are these frustrated adventurers who dabble with "front" organizations and who thereby must be held fully accountable if the Temple of Freedom is pulled down? And who are the malicious and antisocial destroyers who somehow bring a 24-hour-a-day zeal to bear to destroy the very freedom which makes them free to destroy? It seems so surpassingly strange that intelligent persons would willingly and deliberately retrace those steps over hundreds of years by which men came up from serfdom and darkness into the light of freedom, and who would now take mankind down the same path to darkness and chaos.

## He Chose Freedom

I had hoped that one day, an American Communist or fellow traveler (as those who operate under the cloak of front organizations are called) would display the physical, moral, and spiritual courage to do what Victor Kravchenko did. Doubtless you will recall that he was a high official in the Soviet Union and also in the Communist Party. When he could suffer its brutality and evil no longer, he chose freedom. The story of his choice he set down in his book, "I Chose Freedom." It is an account of the moral crisis in his life and his escape. It was not merely that Kravchenko's lips uttered the words "I Chose Freedom." He made the choice and then escaped to the land of freedom.

He knew full well that his life would never again be secure. The secret police are on his trail even here in the bosom of freedom. But he chose freedom and then proceeded to work at it. Knowing communism as he did, with its ruthlessness, its brutality, its flaunting individual rights, its mockery of human dignity, Kravchenko chose freedom and then had to plan for a long time to make his escape.

Now then, why does not some American Communist stand up in his place with courage to say, "I Chose Communism," and then depart to some place where it is in effect. Up to this good hour, no Communist in America has had the courage, the decency, and the stamina to do so. If there be such a person, he would not have to escape from this land of the free by stealth. He could freely walk into any ticket office of any air line or steamship agency, purchase a ticket, and depart. I'm sure every effort would be made to provide him with an emigration visa. In fact, there are many Americans who would be glad to contribute to the passage money.

## Communists Like It Here

But no American Communist has emulated Kravchenko. And there's a reason. Communists like it here. They like the freedom to destroy and pull down. Nowhere else would they find that freedom. And because they devote themselves to the business of destruction of the American way of life, there must be more than an equal zeal on our part to defend it.

Now then, if there were such a rare person as an American Communist who chose communism and suited the action to the word by going where communism flourishes, he, of course, would not like it.

Anyone who has been abroad and noted conditions can vouch for that statement. Such a person could go to Poland but he would not like it. Freedom has been pretty well liquidated in

Poland. The government is in Communist hands. The secret police are everywhere. The army is dominated by Soviet officers. The people are filled with hate for communism which is matched only by their hate for the Nazis. How astonishing that in this enlightened year of our Lord 1947, after millions of young men in all parts of the world died for freedom, that an apostle of freedom like Mikolajczyk should have to flee for his life. He was the spearhead of free government in Poland. And yet he had to flee because there is no freedom to criticize and oppose tyranny in Poland. And so a Communist who chooses communism would not like it in Poland because there is no freedom to destroy.

He could go to Rumania but he probably wouldn't. Doubtless, he would quickly recall that the aged Jules Maniu, the last defender of even a vestige of freedom in that little land, has been tried on trumped-up charges, found guilty, and sentenced to life imprisonment. Those who were associated with him are also in jail. I'm sure that any frustrated individual who dabbles around with the fire of communism would not go to Rumania where it flourishes in all its evil because his freedom to act and to speak would be gone.

He could go to Bulgaria but I'm sure he wouldn't. There is no freedom there. There he might see the grave of Petkov, the old agrarian leader and the last defender of freedom. The wreath on the grave is still fresh. The fact that this country officially protested his execution did not matter. He was a disciple of freedom. He was the leader of a rural people, who insisted on protesting the enslavement of his people. And because he did, he was expeditiously liquidated.

## There Is No Freedom in Communism

He could go to Yugoslavia but he wouldn't. Throughout Europe one will find many Yugoslavs who dare not return home. The Soviet Union has



repeatedly insisted that Yugoslavs, Balts, and others be forcibly repatriated from the camps where they are now housed. But to force them to go home would be the equivalent of sentencing them to death or to the hideousness of a concentration camp.

And yet, think how alluring it would be to go to Yugoslavia. Tito, the dictator, is a handsome man in uniform. He has an army of 450,000. They are well officered and well fed. Belgrade, the capital city, is noted for its old-world beauty. There are appealing mountains and entrancing valleys where an American Communist could roam. Belgrade is the home of the Cominform. Within the last 2 months, its headquarters were established there to start the drive for extending communism all over Europe. What better and more desirable place could an American Communist find who chose communism. But you can be sure he will not go there. And the reason is simple. There is no freedom. Here in America, he can criticize, he can destroy, he can join with an organization of destroyers. If he is charged with subversion, he can take refuge in the Constitution, that very charter of freedom which assures him of life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness, the right to speak, print, and assemble. He can obtain a lawyer and be released from jail under a writ of habeas corpus. He can have a trial by jury. He is safe from excessive bail or from cruel and unusual punishment. But in Yugoslavia, he can be jailed without real cause, and he can be spirited away so that his family will never see him again. There are no guarantees there, and it's pretty certain that he would not go to Yugoslavia.

He could go to Hungary but he wouldn't. He wouldn't like it there. And yet it is under Communist control. That happened only 4 months ago. Although, in the first postwar election in Hungary, only one-sixth of those who voted cast their ballots for the Communist Party, it is now under Communist domination. That may seem strange. But a minority, properly armed, with the might of the Soviet Union behind it can, through the exercise of harassment and intimidation, quickly compel others to fall in line. The Prime Minister of Hungary is in

the United States today. Nor does he dare return to the country of his birth where he climbed from a humble station to the position of Prime Minister. He would be tried and liquidated because he still believes that freedom is a priceless thing. There have been wholesale arrests in Hungary. Some of the leaders who were necessary to the cause were converted to communism. The conversion came about in a most persuasive way. They were asked to embrace communism. If they refused, they became involuntary patients in a hospital. There they were given treatment. The treatment consisted of ice water enemas. Call them cold colonics, if you will. Just a few of these will prove extremely persuasive. They leave no marks on the body and no one shall say that the victim was beaten into a conversion to the cause of communism. But Hungary is now in the full embrace of this dreadful plague. But I'm sure no American Communist has a desire to go there. There is no freedom. And he wouldn't like that. He prefers it here where he can freely devote his energies to the destruction of the finest form of free government ever devised by the talents of men.

### **One by One Lights of Freedom Go Out**

He could go to Austria, and especially the Zone occupied by the Soviets. Or he could go to that section of Vienna where the Soviets predominate. But he wouldn't like it, notwithstanding the fact that it's such a center of culture and music. Amid the overtones of Blue Danube, he might actually hear this awful thing creep over the land. There he could see the lights of freedom go out, one by one. There he might observe General Kurasov remove civilian Austrian officials who are not acceptable to communism, notwithstanding the fact that Austria is a liberated country. He would see huge photos of Stalin. There he would see Soviet officers and soldiers—more than 41,000 of them. There he could read the daily edition of the Red Army newspaper and also the official newspaper of the Communist Party of Austria. He should, of course, be happy in the fact that every day he could read abuse and vilification of the United States. But he would not like it because the only

real freedom he would have would be to follow the line laid down by General Kurasov. Even the overtones of fear should delight him because they are music to the heart of a destroyer. But even then he would not like it. He likes freedom too much—secure freedom—in which he can join an organized endeavor to destroy the citadel of liberty by foul and stealthy means, and always find refuge in the Bill of Rights.

### **Indoctrination of School Children**

He might go to Germany and especially the Soviet Zone of Germany, occupied by hundreds of thousands of Soviet troops and officials under the stern direction of Marshal Sokolovsky. But he wouldn't like it. Some things he might like. He would like the destruction and the awful poverty. He would like the indoctrination of school children with Marxism and the Russian language. He would like the awful pall that hangs over the place. He would like the starving people. He would like the forced labor system in which people are given 2 hours to make up their minds to accept whatever work is tendered even though it be in some far-off uranium mine or in Siberia or otherwise be liquidated. He would like the legions of secret police who spy on everyone and report. He would like the way the Soviet Army lives off the land. He would like the House of Culture and the monuments which plainly indicate that the Soviets are digging in to stay and take off. Yes, these things he would like because they appeal to the heart of a destroyer. But he wouldn't like the diminishing freedom because that would cramp his style. Far better to stay in America where he is so completely free to pull down freedom. No! He would not like it in the Soviet Zone of Germany.

### **Whatever Is Taught Must Further Communism**

Now then, he could go to the Soviet Union, citadel of communism where it has been nurtured and developed for the last 30 years. But he would not like it. Of course, there are some things he would like. At least he should like them, since that is what he seeks to impose upon America. He should like the schools. Whatever is taught is in

strict furtherance of communism. He should like the secret police who knock on the door in the dead of night and spirit people away without a trial. He should like the slave labor camps in Siberia with an estimated 15,000,000 political slaves, few of whom will ever return. He should like the fact that there are no strikes in the Soviet Union. There haven't been in 26 years. They are not permitted. He should like the abject poverty everywhere. He should like the long hours, the poor pay, the heavy work done by women and children. He should like the fact that the number of radios, motorcars, and telephones per 1,000 population is pitifully small. These and many more things he should like because this is what he

proposes for America. But he will not like it. But very particularly, he will not like the lack of freedom. There is no freedom there. Freedom to speak, to print, to criticize, to teach, to follow a political line is suppressed. If he endeavored to do over there what he does here, he would soon be enroute to one of the slave labor camps of Siberia. No, he would not like it in the Soviet Union.

### **Here Is an Answer**

I presume it is too much to hope that even one American Communist has the candor and courage to stand in his place and choose communism and then take himself forth to a place where it is in full bloom. He wants to remain here

where he is free to insult and impugn and hack away at the very freedom which protects him. And since he prefers to remain here and carry on the destruction of freedom with fanatical zeal, there must be an answer for him. And there is. It is for us, free Americans who love our country, to have a zeal for democracy, zeal for freedom. Today as never before in the homes, schools, churches, and communities of the land, we need a new pageantry of freedom, and a high-powered zeal for our country, its people, and the things it offers. Long ago, the apostle Paul wrote, "Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." That can also be transposed. "Where liberty is, there is the spirit of the Lord."

## **The Threat of Fascism Today**

**by the Honorable Wright Patman, Member of the United States House of Representatives from Texas**

**I**T IS my opinion that fascism is a definite threat to our democratic form of government in the United States today.

While we have been directing practically all of our attacks against the Communists, who have been trying to approach us from the left, I am wondering if we have not overlooked giving sufficient attention to an equally vicious enemy in the form of fascism approaching us from the right. Both communism and fascism are bad and no stone should be left unturned to properly expose them to the people in order that neither may be embraced. As long as we have a better government than the Communists have to offer—and I cannot conceive of our Government ever getting as bad as communism—the intelligent people of our Nation will be able to hold back the spread of communism.

There are between 2,000 and 2,500 organizations in the United States today that are flooding the people with all kinds of literature that is being sent through the mails. Some of these organizations raise enormous amounts of money to carry on their campaigns. A few of them I know follow the Fascist

pattern, and if their proposals are adopted, we would soon have a Fascist state. Our Government in a substantial way is encouraging these organizations, including the Fascist groups.

This is done through our income tax laws. Under the present law, an individual taxpayer may contribute up to 15 percent of his income to so-called educational organizations and not have to pay income taxes thereon. Since it is well known that the Fascists make their appeal to the aristocratic type of people of great wealth, such people are sometimes persuaded, perhaps unsuspectingly, to make contributions to such a cause. If the taxpayer happens to be in the 90 percent bracket and contributes \$1,000 to the cause, the result is that the taxpayer will only pay \$100 of the amount and Uncle Sam will lose the other \$900.

The corporation is another potential source of big funds for such an organization. A corporation can buy books, pamphlets, and literature from the so-called educational organization at prices that will give the organization a tremendous profit and the corporation can deduct such an expense as an advertising expense and not have to pay taxes

on it. Therefore, wittingly or unwittingly certain Fascist groups may be subsidized indirectly by the United States Treasury as they attempt to confuse, mislead, and deceive people on vital issues.

Our tax laws in that respect should be carefully gone over and changes made for the purpose of preventing the diversion of taxes from the United States Treasury to the pockets of the lobbyists and also for discouraging the growth of Fascism in our country.

One such organization sends out millions of pieces of literature each year. It has the names of all the different groups, by organizations, on addressograph stencils, and a special letter is prepared that will appeal to each group, and special literature is sent that will appeal to each group. For instance, if there is pending in Congress a bill that this organization desires to oppose or support, it is an easy matter to cover the whole country with propaganda at once. It takes a different letter to appeal to the officers and directors of big corporations from that which will appeal to agricultural agents, school teachers, or ministers. All individuals and corporations should be



constantly on the alert to the danger of being deceived by organizations which often secure support under false pretenses.

During 1946, the Library of Congress at the request of the Honorable Everett Dirksen prepared a fine booklet on communism in action. During the year, 1946, I also asked the Library of Congress to prepare for me a booklet on fascism in action, as I did not believe that we should devote our time and attention to fighting one obnoxious "ism" without giving some attention to another "ism" that was equally as obnoxious. In compliance with my request, this study was prepared. A resolution was introduced by me, providing that it be made a House Document and made available to the public either through distribution free by Members of Congress or by purchase from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office. The result was, the 206-page booklet was finally printed and is now available through the Government Printing Office for 40 cents a copy. The booklet on *Communism in Action* is available free and may be obtained upon request to any Member of Congress.

It occurs to me that some of the so-called educational organizations I have mentioned are paralleling almost exactly the Fascist pattern as it grew up in Italy and in Germany. They have all the earmarks of the same kind of organizations that caused Italy to go Fascist.

On page 18 of the book, *Fascism in Action*, the following statement appears, "Financed at first by men of wealth as a defense against socialism, the Fascist Party later depended upon membership fees, special levies and assessments which furnished it ample funds." In other words, certain very wealthy people—not all of them but some—organized the Fascist Party and took over the government on the pretense that they were fighting socialism and saving the Italian people from socialism and communism. It will be too bad for our people and our form of government if we permit the same situation to exist in the United States.

It will be discovered from reading the book, *Fascism in Action*, that one of the first things that a Fascist leader does is to destroy credit unions, farmer

cooperatives, labor unions, and all other forms of cooperatives for the obvious reason that they are too democratic. References in this book, which fully prove this point, may be found concerning Germany on page 88; concerning Italy, Spain, and Japan, on page 106; and as a pattern of fascism in general for all countries, on page 201.

There is a strong, vigorous attack being made against cooperatives in the United States today. One of the greatest lobbies that has ever invaded the Nation's Capital is making an effort to destroy the cooperative as a way of doing business. This lobby has more representatives officially registered as lobbyists against cooperatives than any other one group in the United States. It is well financed and is putting up a desperate fight.

It is claimed that the fight is made against cooperatives because they are tax-dodgers and do not pay taxes. This is untrue. The tax charge is merely a smoke screen. It is an excuse, not a reason, for trying to destroy an essential part of our free private enterprise system represented by the cooperatives.

If the Communists are true to form in this country and are working as they worked in other countries, they will not only not object to fascism but will actually help the growth of fascism. It will be much easier for the Communists finally to get control of our Government from the Fascists than it would be for the Communists to take it over from a democracy such as we have now. Their policy is to divide and conquer, weaken, cause confusion, which is also helpful to the Fascists as well as to the Communists. The Fascist element in this country is in very strong hands. Its roots have become so firmly planted by so much abler and stronger hands and minds than the Communists that it represents probably a greater threat at this time than communism. The Fascists have money, wealth, and power. We want to keep our own system of private enterprise, our own system of government, which is the finest and best Government on the face of the earth. It is necessary that we teach the people what fascism is and what communism is and show them the earmarks of both and then compare them with our own government. Then the American

people will embrace neither of these obnoxious proposals. We must never fail to point out to the people the danger signs, which can be seen in certain movements. It takes an alert person, one who has had training and experience enough to detect these things, to discover what is really behind certain movements.

January 3, 1947, the first day of the First Session of the Eightieth Congress, I introduced the following resolution to investigate fascism:

#### Resolution

*Whereas* fascism is obnoxious to our form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and

*Whereas* fascism is obnoxious to our American democratic system of free enterprise which is based on initiative, intelligence, and hard work; and

*Whereas* the people of our country are exposed daily to propaganda which would lead them down the road to fascism; and

*Whereas* all Americans must be alerted against the teachings and practices of fascism: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the Committee on Un-American activities, in the exercise and performance of the powers and duties conferred upon and delegated to such committee under the Rules of the House of Representatives, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, is directed to make a special study and investigation of (a) the extent, character, and object of Fascist propaganda activities in the United States; (b) the diffusion within the United States of Fascist propaganda which is instigated from foreign countries or is of a domestic origin and which attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution; and (c) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The committee shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) within one hundred and twenty days after the passage of this resolution, the results of its special study and investigation together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

Insofar as I know this resolution has not received the attention of the Committee to which it was referred. The fact that committees of Congress seem to be so reluctant to investigate fascism is to be deplored.

I also deplore that some of our prominent leaders are continually de-

nouncing communism but never say one word against fascism. Is it because an effort is being made to scare the people about communism to the extent that they would be willing to accept fascism? This is what happened in Italy and in Germany.

The Coordinator of Information in the House of Representatives recently prepared an informative statement showing in parallel columns the difference between Americanism, Communism, and Fascism. (The statement appears on page 28.)

As long as fascism is not opposed in our country more vigorously than it is today, and as long as it is so vigorously supported by people in a position to command and control so many of our media of communication, fascism will continue to be a very serious threat.

## Education for a Free Society

### A Statement by the Citizens Federal Committee on Education

*THIS STATEMENT, signed by members of the Citizens Federal Committee on Education, is an expression of laymen's interest in democracy and education. The Citizens Federal Committee on Education is a lay advisory group appointed by the Federal Security Administrator to counsel with the U. S. Commissioner of Education on matters of general policy relating to the cause of education in this country. Your attention is also invited to the Committee's notable report on the teacher situation in the schools of America entitled "Citizens Look at Education."*

**T**HE QUALITIES of mind and heart which serve as the very foundation of a democratic social order are in large measure the achievements of social nurture. To maintain itself a democratic society must thus always accord first priority to education for a democratic design for living.

#### The Totalitarian Threat

The crisis through which democracy the world over is now passing adds the sense of urgency to demands which the American people habitually make upon our educational institutions. The events of the years immediately ahead are likely to affect the future of democracy for a long time to come, both at home and abroad. The degree of the democratic purpose of our schools is likely to be crucial for our own people and for mankind in general.

Events of the past three decades have challenged the high and generous hopes which were increasingly entertained during the preceding century and one-half for the emergence of a universal democratic order in the not too distant future. The accelerating tempo in the

progress of technology brought in its wake a larger and more complex society. A sense of interdependence displaced, in large measure, the earlier feeling of self-sufficiency, on the part of individuals, communities, and nations. There emerged the question whether the newborn complex society could be organized with the welfare of the individual person and his rights as a prime consideration and whether this society left scope for the play of reason and conscience. This doubt provided a soil for the growth of the cult of sheer power.

In this country rapid industrialization and urbanization have tended to multiply economic, social, and personal insecurities and to undermine the sense of the individual's belonging to the community. Two world wars of destructive magnitude, with an intervening period of the severest economic crisis which the American people had ever experienced, added to this sense of insecurity.

In European countries with little or no background of democratic tradition and experience there developed a readiness to surrender personal freedoms in the interest of security. The vacuum created by the loss of confidence in democratic values in those countries came to be filled with totalitarian ideologies. In the context of these ideologies the "party line" displaced the distinctively human quality for free moral choice. Human reason, experience, and conscience stopped at the boundary of the Nation, the party, or the race.

Nor has this process which has so insidiously sapped the strength of democracy abroad completely exhausted itself. On the contrary, the social, economic,

and ideological forces which gnaw at the norms and the forms of democratic life and at its very substance seem to be gathering increased momentum. In a world knit together into one neighborhood by modern means of communication, the spread and entrenchment of antidemocratic ideologies and institutions anywhere constitute a threat to our own free way of life.

The Citizens Federal Committee on Education has no doubt of the intrinsic staying power of democracy. In the face of world developments America's faith in democratic values grows stronger. Our Committee is convinced that these values are flexible enough to be adaptable to the large and complex society which modern technology has helped to create. We believe that this society can be so ordered as to provide simultaneously for the freedom of the individual person and the integrity of the social order. Ultimately, we are certain that human nature will reject social and political systems which attempt to frustrate and blot out the humane qualities of life. But *ultimately* may be a long time off—and in the meantime, if we follow a do-nothing policy, antidemocratic systems of life may extend their sway and strengthen their positions.

Because of its democratic tradition, its economic strength, and international influence, the United States can play a decisive part in reversing the ongoing antidemocratic trend. America can and must intensify its historic sense of responsibility as a trail blazer of democratic idealism. To discharge this responsibility our schools, public and private and on all levels of instruction, can and must broaden democratic un-





Shown with Commissioner Studebaker are some members attending the recent meeting of the Citizens Federal Committee on Education which approved the report published under the title, *Citizens Look at Education*.

Front row, from the left: Mrs. Estelle Massey Osborne (National Council of Negro Women); Commissioner Studebaker; Thomas C. Boushall (United States Chamber of Commerce), chairman; Kathryn McHale (American Association of University Women); and Agnes Samuelson (PTA). Behind, same order: J. L. Horace, Jr. (National Fraternal Council of Negro Churches); Rev. F. Ernest Johnson (Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America); Rev. William McManus (National Catholic Welfare Conference); Lloyd Halvorson (National Grange); Frank Fernback (CIO); Rev. Frank Tishkins (Veterans of Foreign Wars); J. D. Parel (American Farm Bureau Federation); J. McDonald Comer (National Association of Manufacturers); John T. Corbett (Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers); and Walter G. Ingalls (American Legion).

derstandings, deepen democratic loyalties, and help to fashion habits of thought, feeling, and conduct which are consonant with democratic ideals.

### **An Affirmation of Common Democratic Faith**

In its composition our Committee reflects the diverse complexity of the American population. Our membership includes industrial and agricultural wage earners; farmers, manufacturers, and merchants; Catholics, Protestants, and Jews; Negro and white people; housewives and parents; lawyers, doctors, and engineers; residents of the various regions of our country. Rising above diversities and serving as a common framework for the composition of our differences of interests and opinions, are a number of beliefs and commitments, which we hold in common.

These beliefs and commitments which we identify as the essence of a democratic faith are:

1. That membership in a common humanity, the earmarks of which are the capacity for reason and conscience, endows each and every human being with dignity and worth, far transcending differences which derive from race, sex, creed, and national origin.

2. That the destiny of the human race is bound up with the progress of intelligence and with the extension of the moral horizon of increasing numbers of individuals.

3. That members of society have a moral claim to and the capacity for participation in the control over their common destiny, and that the legitimate powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed.

4. That in addition to the rights which individuals have to participate in government (political liberties) they also have rights which the government cannot legitimately abrogate (civil liberties) and rights under government (liberty under law).

5. That the rights of any individual in society are strictly limited by the like rights of other members of society and can be secure for the individual only when enjoyed by all.

6. That rights and duties are in reciprocal relationship: the rights of individuals being convertible into duties to safeguard these rights for others; and that in addition to the specific duties which membership in society imposes, there is the general duty of sensitive and intelligent concern with the public welfare.

7. That the purpose of governmental, economic, cultural, and social institutions and arrangements is the increased abundance of life, materially and culturally, of the individuals comprising society.

8. That the interests of the members of society are best served by wide diffusion of power, authority, and responsibility.

These beliefs and commitments served as the stimulus and the justification of the founding of our Nation. The concepts and ideals which underlie them have served as the force which has welded into one people the numerous ethnically and culturally diverse elements who came to our shores, in the course of the centuries. The ideals and values of democracy have found their way into the idiom of American speech and the texture of our customs, folkways, and institutions. They constitute the central themes in the discussion of local and national issues and as the standards for the appraisal of men, events, and institutions. The American standard of living is more than a standard calibrated in terms of material goods and services. It is the standard of democratic values against which we measure all aspects of our national life. And we are increasingly becoming

ing aware of the validity of democratic ideals in the building of a world community of nations.

The committee is poignantly conscious that many manifestations of American life fall far short of the standard required by our democratic ideals. The successes our people have attained in translating a generous faith into a democratic way of life as well as our deviations from the high objectives of democracy are both a matter of record open to all our citizens and to the citizens of the world at large. Our shortcomings are on our mind and conscience. Our failures in important respects to give expression to our ideals by no means invalidate our faith. They point rather to the need for greater clarification of our faith and for redoubled effort to live by it.

### **The Responsibility of the Schools**

The task of enhancing the democratic quality of our life is the responsibility of all our governmental and voluntary institutions. It is especially the task of our schools. An educational program which fails to foster an intelligent and abiding faith in democracy and to translate that faith into a design for living has failed its chief purpose. The individual needs democracy as a personal faith consisting of social ideals and convictions, to give him a central purpose which is capable of providing direction to his civic hopes, strivings, and actions; to endow him with strength to withstand the conflicting pressures of intellectually and spiritually enervating and restricting propagandas, whether emanating from within our land or from alien sources. Democracy is needed as a national civic faith capable of further deepening national unity.

The Citizens Committee on Education feels greatly heartened by the project of the United States Office of Education for increasing the zeal for American democracy. The committee will extend to the Office of Education all support and assistance within its means. We are convinced that sincere commitment to democratic ideals by our people, a greater effort to narrow the gap between our democratic professions and our actual conduct, and the application of democratic ideals in our international relations can halt the advance of

totalitarianism. We urge an intelligent, concerted, and vigorous program of democratic education in America not only because of a concern for the security of our national way of life and for the welfare of our citizens but also because of an intense concern over the future of democracy the world over.

### **Signed:**

#### **Representing Business**

THOMAS C. BOUSHALL, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, *Chairman*

MARGARET A. HICKEY, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs

#### **Representing Manufacturing**

J. McDONALD COMER, National Association of Manufacturers

WALTER D. FULLER, National Association of Manufacturers

ROBERT S. WILSON, National Association of Manufacturers

#### **Representing Labor**

JOHN T. CORRETT, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers

KERMIT EBY, Congress of Industrial Organizations

MATTHEW WOLL, American Federation of Labor

#### **Representing Agriculture**

EDWARD A. O'NEAL, American Farm Bureau Federation

JAMES G. PATTON, Farmers Educational & Cooperative Union

#### **Representing Homemakers**

MRS. J. L. BLAIR BUCK, General Federation of Women's Clubs

MRS. L. W. HUGHES, National Congress of Parents and Teachers

KATHRYN McHALE, American Association of University Women

#### **Representing Religious Groups**

VERY REV. MSGR. FREDERICK G. HOCHWALT, National Catholic Welfare Conference

REV. F. ERNEST JOHNSON, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ of America

SALO W. BARON, Professor of Jewish History, Literature and Institutions, Columbia University

#### **Representing Negro Groups**

REV. J. L. HORACE, National Fraternal Council of Negro Churches

MRS. ESTELLE MASSEY OSBORNE, National Council of Negro Women

P. B. YOUNG, Sr., National Negro Newspaper Publishers Association

#### **Representing the Professions**

RALPH L. GOETZENBERGER, Engineers' Council for Professional Development

ALBERT J. HARNO, American Bar Association

DR. VICTOR JOHNSON, American Medical Association

#### **Representing Veterans**

WALTER C. HESS, Disabled American Veterans

WALTER G. INGALLS, American Legion

REV. FRANK TISHKINS, Veterans of Foreign Wars

## **STRENGTHENING AMERICAN DEMOCRACY**

*This statement was adopted in a session of the Annual Convention of the Chief State School Officers held in Los Angeles, Calif., December 12-14, 1947.*

**THE TEACHING** of American democracy, always a supreme obligation of the Nation's schools and colleges, must now be made more effective than ever before. It is fitting that the official educational agency of our National Government exert leadership in promoting a program which calls for Nation-wide action. The *National Council of Chief State School Officers*, therefore, commends the United States Office of Education for its timely inauguration of the Nation-wide educational program, *Zeal for American Democracy*.

We are witnessing a gigantic world-wide struggle between the ideologies of totalitarianism and democracy. While the more bitter clashes are centered in Europe and in Asia, the conflict nevertheless extends to the United States. The outcome of this conflict will have profound effects in shaping our American institutions for years to come.

It is no longer enough to assert the undeniable truth that universal education is indispensable in a democracy. Education in a democracy must be education for a democracy. Schools and colleges as public institutions in a democracy are under the solemn obligation to maintain the freedom necessary to prepare their students to take part intelligently and thoughtfully in the various phases of our everyday life. Our schools play a vital part in creating intelligent devotion to democracy. Traditionally, the schools are our major channel by which the American democratic faith is perpetuated.

Earlier forms of absolute government did not require universal education. Indeed, at times autocracies felt themselves threatened even by the spread of literacy. Totalitarian states today place great emphasis on widespread use, or rather, according to our democratic ideals, misuse of education. Totalitarianism requires regimented training for automatic response and unquestioning acquiescence to authority. Con-



versely, American democracy with its emphasis upon the intrinsic worth of the individual human personality is based upon intelligent response to changing situations and free commitments to loyalties created by the enlightened judgment of the people. Hence, we as educators need to intensify our promotion of educational processes, methods, and materials which embody

our democratic faith. Nor is this sufficient. Within our boundaries there is a vast inadequacy and inequality of educational opportunity for our people. To work unceasingly toward the attainment of the democratic ideal of equality of educational opportunity constitutes a major objective of our organization.

Since education is the legal responsibility of the States, the National Council

cil of Chief State School Officers, representing as it does official educational agencies of the several States, recognizes its tremendous responsibility in the furtherance of the program, *Zeal for American Democracy*. We therefore pledge our full cooperation in strengthening American democracy and take the following positive actions to that end.

1. Our Executive Committee is hereby designated to act as a liaison committee to work with the United States Office of Education in such ways as may be necessary in promoting this program.
2. We urge our members to create a climate of opinion in their respective States which will encourage teachers to present the facts about totalitarianism in order that all may see clearly its purpose to subvert our American freedoms.
3. We urge our members to participate in and provide a just share of the leadership for such national and regional conferences as may be called for the purpose of promoting the program.
4. We urge our members to plan and to conduct such State-wide and local conferences as are needed to make effective the implementation of the program.

Herein we reaffirm our avowed purpose to exercise the leadership inherent in the official positions we hold in developing a resurgence of belief in the basic freedoms which are indispensable to the preservation of our American way of life.

## UN APPEAL FOR CHILDREN

To do their share in relieving the situation among children abroad, America's schools are being asked to help the Children's Crusade, which is part of a world relief drive by American Overseas Aid—United Nations Appeal for Children.

Because of the emergency nature of the situation, the Board of Directors of AOA-UNAC urges teachers and principals to organize the drive promptly, without waiting for someone to ask their help. Information is available at National Campaign Headquarters, AOA-UNAC, 39 Broadway, New York 6, N. Y.

## Cooperation Pledged in Zeal for Democracy Program



AT THE 1947 annual convention of the National Council for the Social Studies held in St. Louis, Mo.—with approximately 1,100 social studies teachers and administrators present from 39 States—a number of resolutions were adopted of which the following have particular significance for the "Zeal for Democracy" program of the U. S. Office of Education:

**WHEREAS**, we believe "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that defenses of peace must be constructed:" Therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, that National Council members intensify their efforts through their own schools, communities, and other organizations to solicit support for UNESCO, the Commission for Educational Reconstruction, and the Overseas Teacher-Relief fund toward rehabilitating education in war-devastated areas and fostering programs of international education abroad. **RESOLVED** further, that the National Council for the Social Studies cooperate with the World Organization of the Teaching Profession to help promote understanding and unity among educators.

**RESOLVED** further, that the National Council as an organization and that individual members as social studies teachers continue to assert leadership in furthering education in this country for peace and world understanding by

1. Cooperating with other professional organizations,

such as the National Education Association and the American Historical Association, which seek to promote international understanding,

2. Urging an increased number of exchange students and teachers,

3. Including at all levels of the curriculum materials that will advance world understanding and world cooperation.

**WHEREAS**, the major ills of our time lie in the area of human relations, the contribution of the social studies profession is of paramount importance to the nation: Therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, that we commend the work of the United States Office of Education in expanding its personnel and services in the Social Studies area at the elementary, the high school, and the college levels. We pledge our cooperation to the Commissioner of Education to help make effective the "Zeal for Democracy" program.

**RESOLVED** further, that we call upon institutions of higher learning for more careful selection and more adequate preparation of prospective social studies teachers; we call upon State accrediting authorities to require higher standards for the certifying of social studies teachers; and we call upon administrators to see that only those with proper training are entrusted with classes in social studies.

# What Are the Chief Threats to American Democracy?

## Symposium of Comments by Heads of National Organizations in Field of Communications

### Statement by Walter D. Fuller, President, National Association of Magazine Publishers

WE KNOW that the totalitarian governments maintain their power and authority by the suppression of facts and the dissemination of false propaganda. Since this is the chief instrument of regimentation, we should guard our freedom of the press with a vigor and vitality that we reserve for nothing else. We should carefully examine every challenge to that freedom and we should act promptly in removing any threat to our independent system of communications, regardless of the attractive promises with which these threats are cloaked.

It is still not common knowledge that magazines, as we know them today, first came into existence following the Civil War through the efforts of Congress to build up the means for minimizing the growth of sectional misunderstandings. The history of the pre-Civil War days clearly demonstrates that much of the misunderstanding both in the North and the South arose from lack of an adequate common press which reached all parts of the Nation with the same messages. If permitted to operate freely, the magazines and newspapers which we have in this country today will constitute a powerful support for our democratic concept and just as powerful a buttress against the growth here of any communistic or fascistic ideology. Because of the character of the totalitarian doctrines, they cannot survive in the strong light of truth and that light is constantly generated by our magazines and newspapers.

Another strong safeguard to our democratic traditions is a continuing prosperity, and certainly no other nation can show that its system of government has created such great opportunities for its people. Perhaps it is good to reexamine the record occasionally. In 1890, in all America, there were 18,130,000 jobs. In the fall of 1947 there are approximately 59,000,000 jobs—three and a half times as many

as existed in 1890. These simple figures tell more clearly than anything else could the story of America's opportunities under a system of free economy.

What do the totalitarian countries have to display in comparison with this record of democratic accomplishments? Let us compare Russia with the United States. In 1938 one hour's wages would buy four times as much bread in America as in Russia. In 1947, wages for one hour will buy *seventeen* times as much bread in America as it does in Russia. Even more significant is the comparison between the average income per person in the labor force. During the prewar period (and today the figures would be even more favorable to America) the average income per person in Russia was \$320. In Germany, under fascism, it was \$646. In free enterprise U. S. A. it was \$1,381.

If we continue to make accessible the truth to the American people and continue to provide opportunities for them, we need have no fear of the general growth in this country of undemocratic ideals.

### Statement by David W. Howe, President, American Newspaper Publishers Association

THE IDEA that the state, its rights and its powers must come ahead of the individual, his integrity, his dignity, his rights, and his obligations—this constitutes the chief threat to American democracy today. This is not a new threat. It has reared its head in some form periodically for the last two thousand years and has been the basic cause of most wars. The present Russian police state is the most powerful expression of this oft recurring notion.

The second chief threat to American democracy comes from within. It is exemplified in the thinking of those citizens who give lip service to the dignity and worth of the individual, but who would curtail his freedoms by new, excessive, and usually capricious government powers. Three excuses are usually given, all equally without validity.

These new restrictions are for the individual's good, although he may not know it and may not like it; they are made in the name of the public good as the state may see it at the time; or they are made to strengthen us so that we can stand up against the presumably potent police state. Such defense measures as mobilization of industry and universal military training are not, in my opinion, curtailments of liberty and a threat to democracy. They are essentially the calling upon the individual citizens to assume and discharge obligations which are inherent in a democracy. These obligations are essential in a democracy that intends to survive on this shrinking planet. The third great threat to American democracy has also been with us a long time. It is the combination of ignorance, indolence, and unwillingness to assume the obligations of citizenship on the part of too many who are the chief beneficiaries of the democratic system.

There are other false beliefs and destructive emotions which threaten democracy. All of them overlook or try to deny the essential worth of the individual. All of them would curtail life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness, and economic opportunity for the individual. European countries have experimented in the three decades just past with adventures in class hatred, in racial and religious intolerance, in so-called "liberalism" which is supposed to produce something for nothing. Because of the demonstrated results these and similar unsound beliefs are no longer deeply entrenched in America. At present they do not appear as major threats to our republic.

### Statement by Justin Miller, President, National Association of Broadcasters

In a time when democracy is threatened by enemies within and without, it is impossible to list them all. But there is one food which feeds all such enemies. Without it, none of them could live. Its name is indifference, sometimes called apathy. It is a regrettable aftermath



of such a war as we have recently fought.

People who have lived at a high emotional pitch through four years of war must be expected to relax when the immediate danger seems ended in victory. It is a human tendency to grow tired of constant watchkeeping. Yet that very vigilance is the safeguard upon which our basic liberties depend.

Even those great bulwarks, the 10 Amendments to the Constitution known as the Bill of Rights, may become valueless if we fail to keep an alert watch on them. The avowed and secret enemies of these basic freedoms choose their opportunities carefully, times of public indifference and apathy. It is then, when public vigilance nods, that encroachments are made, abridgments accomplished, hidden and innocent-seeming breaches cut into the walls.

It is not enough, then, for a man to know that the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution guarantees his home against search without a warrant, or that the First Amendment forbids Congress, in express terms, to make any law which abridges "freedom of speech, or of the press \* \* \*." He must also *care* enough about these and other basic liberties to fight to preserve them. The teaching of facts must go on, but it should be accompanied by the teaching of concern for and vigilance regarding the meaning and impacts of these facts. Indifference to such encroachments is a greater enemy of democracy than even the powerful forces which seek, openly, to destroy our liberties.

It is well to remember the words of Benjamin Franklin, in his last address, delivered at the Constitutional Convention in 1787: "Sir, I agree to this Constitution, with all its faults, if they are such; because I think a general government necessary for us . . . and I believe farther that this is likely to be well administered for a course of years, and can only end in despotism, as other forms have done before it, *when the people shall have become so corrupted as to need despotic government, being incapable of any other.*"

When I first read that speech I thought Franklin should have said, "*if the people shall ever become so corrupted as to need despotic government.*" As I see the present trends of government encroachment and public indiffer-

ence, I am not so sure. Perhaps Franklin's statement was prophetic. The answer lies, largely, with the teachers and administrators of our schools.

We cannot afford to let great truths lie hidden behind legal language and Latin phrases. Every principle set out in the Bill of Rights was once a fight-

ing issue, for the securing of which brave men gave their lives. Every one of them can be vitalized so easily that even a grade-school child can understand. I wonder if the teachers, themselves, understand! I wonder if there is textbook material available for such teaching!

## Opportunity for American Youth

Helen Dwight Reid, Chief, European Section,  
Division of International Educational Relations

**T**HE TEACHERS and students of America have a challenging opportunity to build an understanding of democracy in the minds and hearts of a whole generation in Germany. So far nearly 40,000 young Germans have responded to the opportunity broadcast to them by the "Voice of America" to enter into correspondence with young Americans of similar age and interest. They write their letters to the Division of International Educational Relations of the Office of Education for distribution through our schools and colleges to American boys and girls. Forty thousand young people, some too young to have been indoctrinated effectively by the Nazis, some obviously groping for a new way of life now that their Nazi world has crumbled under them, reach out eagerly for these promised contacts. A vanquished people, whose own great cultural traditions were almost lost in the bitter distortion of the Nazi years, thus freely offer to the youth of America a chance to guide their faltering steps along the democratic path.

A young German boy writes:

"Here in Germany, where for long years a picture has been displayed of the United States, that was a distorted caricature, the reaction to hear the truth is especially strong. We were too young to recognize the immense lie, and we were not yet able to differ prop-

aganda from truth. Now everything has changed, the veil has been torn, and we see things, events, the world in a complete new light.

"Now we have to face this situation, and we must find our way. You will understand that it is a rather difficult task for us, and that we try to seek for assistance which can help us in our effort. I am of the opinion that an exchange of letters would be the best solution, for only personal contact can create the atmosphere that is necessary for understanding."

Will our boys and girls be able to give them a clear picture of what democracy is? Will they have the understanding to interpret our way of life to young people left floundering by the collapse of the Nazi regime? Will they have the zeal for democracy to enable them to meet with assurance and conviction the challenge of other ideologies competing for the minds of German youth? Here is an opportunity our schools must meet: a challenge to American teachers and to the boys and girls they teach. Unconditional surrender has brought this Nation responsibilities reaching far beyond mere maintenance of order in the territory under our military occupation. We have a chance to influence profoundly the thinking of the defeated people, particularly the youth who will grow up to be their leaders tomorrow.

# The Challenge of Soviet Education

by George S. Counts, Teachers College, Columbia University

OUR AMERICAN democracy faces the supreme challenge of its history. On all sides it faces new conditions of life created by the advance of science and technology which it must surmount if it is to survive. At home it must achieve a general condition of economic opportunity, security, and plenty. Abroad it must provide bold, inspiring, and intelligent leadership in the establishment of lasting peace on the foundations of justice and freedom for all peoples. If it fails in the one case, it will open the gates to chaos and dictatorship. If it fails in the other, it may be destroyed in an all-embracing catastrophe.

Our democracy is also challenged as never before by two powerful and aggressive totalitarian movements which thrive on those conditions of insecurity, frustration, and despair which continue to ride the world—fascism and communism. Each of these movements feeds on fear of the other. Each also loudly proclaims itself to be the only practicable alternative to the other. Yet both are essentially tyrannical in character and profoundly hostile to all the truly liberating tendencies of the past several centuries. The experience of the present generation demonstrates that the triumph of either means the triumph of despotism.

For a time fascism, exploiting the fear of communism, seemed to be advancing with irresistible power to fasten its cruel and brutal system on the peoples of the world. Even some American citizens, reared in the tradition of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln, professed to see in it the "wave of the future." In the terrible war which it precipitated the Fascist states were destroyed. Yet democracy is by no means secure. Today communism, vastly strengthened by the conflict, exploiting the fear of fascism, and supported by an international network of Party agents, is on the offensive everywhere, confident that it will conquer the earth. If democracy is to win by peaceful means in the current world-

wide struggle for the loyalties of men, it will have to marshal all of its moral and intellectual resources for the vigorous affirmation and fulfillment of its basic principles.

In this great ideological struggle organized education will inevitably play a central role. During the period between the wars the leaders of the totalitarian states, notably Russia, Germany, and Japan, directed the school and all other agencies for the molding of the mind to the achievement of their purposes. They demonstrated conclusively the tremendous power of organized education. In his address in Moscow on the evening of November 6, 1947, Mr. Molotov paid tribute to Soviet education when, in enumerating "the successes of the Soviet state," he declared that "the most important gain of our revolution is the new moral character and ideological growth of the people as Soviet patriots." If democracy is to win in the present struggle, it must develop an educational program which will serve the purposes of freedom as effectively as totalitarian education serves the purposes of tyranny. An examination of Soviet education will reveal the nature and magnitude of the task.

## II

The challenge of Soviet education resides in part in its power. Rarely in history, if ever, has education been so deliberately organized on such a vast scale. This fact is due to the integration of three distinctive features of the Soviet educational system.

In the first place, education in the Soviet Union is essentially and profoundly *political* in purpose. On coming to power in 1917, the Bolsheviks established an open and avowed dictatorship under the banner of the proletariat and converted the entire educational system into an instrument wholly and unreservedly committed to the achievement of their purposes. "Education in the U. S. S. R.," in the words of a recent official pronouncement, "is a weapon for

strengthening the Soviet state and the building of a classless society." Such a conception of function gives the work of organized education a seriousness that certainly has not been matched in the United States. This seriousness is given practical expression in the huge expenditures on education which, in terms of proportion of national income, amount to two or three times the American expenditure. It is also revealed in the fact that at the present time one out of every four of the inhabitants of the Union is attending a school or class of some kind.

Soviet children, moreover, are made to feel the seriousness of their school work beyond anything known in the whole history of American education. The members of the entire younger generation are being subjected to an extraordinarily severe regimen in the institutions of organized education. The first of twenty rules governing the conduct of school children adopted in 1943 runs as follows: "It is the duty of every school child to strive with tenacity and perseverance to master knowledge." The spirit of this rule permeates the entire system of Soviet education. Special medals for superior work, as measured by school marks, are regularly awarded to the best students.

In the second place, education in the Soviet Union is extremely *broad* in scope. In both conception and practice it is by no means limited to the work of the school system. In addition to that system which embraces a vast network of institutions from the nursery school and kindergarten to the universities and scientific institutes and academies, it includes all the organized agencies capable of molding or enlightening the minds of both young and old—the family, the factory, the collective farm, and the cooperative, the societies for children and youth, labor unions, the organs of government, and the Red Army, the book press, the newspaper, the magazine, the radio, and even the bookshop, the theatre, the moving picture, literature, music, works of art, and all



agencies of entertainment. The teacher has enormous authority over the child, being clothed with the power to supervise his life in the home and in the community, even to the extent of granting or withholding permission to attend the cinema or other places of amusement. The Soviet educational system is thus a system of tremendous reach and power.

In the third place, education in the Soviet Union is *monolithic* in control. Regardless of the forms of administration, which recognize the political divisions and subdivisions of the country, actual control of this vast educational system in all crucial matters is lodged squarely in the hands of the All-Union Communist Party and its central organs. Teachers and educators are essentially technicians who translate into practice the general or specific directives formulated by the Party leadership. Moreover, the masses of the people have no real voice in shaping educational policy. They accept the "leading role" of the Party. Here is perhaps the most essential feature of any totalitarian system of education.

The way in which this form of control operates is clearly revealed in the re-writing of the history textbooks following Stalin's rise to power. On May 16, 1934, on the initiation of Stalin, the Soviet of People's Commissars of the Union and the Central Executive Committee of the Party adopted a resolution which called for the preparation of an entirely new set of textbooks for the teaching of history in the schools. The resolution also provided for the appointment of groups of scholars and Party members to prepare outlines for the projected volumes. A committee composed of the three most powerful men in the Soviet Union, Stalin, Kirov, and Zhdanov, was asked to examine and criticize the outlines. This the committee did with great vigor in three separate documents which were published and have since served as guides for the preparation of history textbooks.

Innumerable examples of the operation of this monolithic principle in the shaping of educational matters both great and small could be cited. In the middle thirties the doctrine of the "stable" textbook was adopted—the doctrine that a textbook should be prepared

with great care under the close supervision of the highest authorities and then be adopted universally. And in the writing of a textbook "every word and every definition must be weighed," said Stalin, Kirov, and Zhdanov. The point is emphasized in works on pedagogical methods, moreover, that the same line in all important doctrinal matters must be followed throughout the system and by all influences molding the character of the child. According to the Rules for School Children, which are taken very seriously, every pupil must carry and have in his possession at all times a special card or miniature passport. Even the number and length of recess periods have been fixed by a resolution of the Central Executive Committee of the Party—the 72 most powerful people in the Soviet Union.

### III

The challenge of Soviet education resides also in its content. What are the ends toward which this vast system for molding the mind is directed? What attitudes and loyalties is it striving to foster in the young? The peace of the world and the strategy of democracy may well hang on the answers to these questions.

Soviet education contains many emphases which can only command the respect and approval of all friends of democracy. It stresses with complete consistency opposition to Fascist doctrines, concern over the condition of the working people, struggle for economic security for all, guarding of public property, enhancing the dignity of labor, dedication to the principle of equality of races and nationalities, devotion to the common good, solicitude for the weak and the aged, love of family and friends, of neighborhood and motherland. Also it cultivates pride in Russian and Soviet achievements and resolve to raise the standards of material and spiritual well-being of the entire population of the Union. All of these things are good, even though the educational methods employed to achieve them might raise doubts in the mind of the democratic educator. Yet certain broad tendencies and patterns stand clearly revealed in Soviet education which must disturb all who during these tragic days are hoping for the

reconciliation of peoples and the peaceful adjustment of differences among the nations of the earth.

First, the Russians are building in the minds of the young a great myth about themselves. To be sure, every people is more or less guilty of this practice, but rarely has it been done so deliberately, thoroughly, and comprehensively. The Soviet Union is described in the textbooks, not only as the "largest" and "richest" country in the world, but also as the "most powerful" and "most advanced," the only country on the earth where there is "no exploitation of man by man." The following prophecy by the distinguished writer, Vissarian Belinsky, in 1840 is widely quoted in educational literature: "We envy our grandchildren and great-grandchildren who are destined to see Russia in 1940 standing at the head of the civilized world, giving laws to science and art, and receiving reverent tribute from all enlightened humanity." The official pedagogy adds: "These remarkable words have been fulfilled." Needless to say, the Soviet Union is credited with winning the war against both Germany and Japan almost single-handed.

Second, the Russians are building in the minds of the young a great myth about the rest of the world. All countries beyond the range of Soviet hegemony are forced into the harsh mold of Marxian thought and are presented in most sombre colors. Here the original revolutionary doctrines appear to be maintained in full strength. References to the lives and writings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin pervade Soviet education from top to bottom. Stalin is characterized as the leader of the "toiling masses" of the world, and Soviet "truth" as "the truth" of these same masses. Since the end of the war, and before the announcement of the so-called Truman and Marshall "plans," a tendency to revive the international aspects of the revolution is plainly discernible.

Third, the Russians are cultivating in the minds of the young a fanatical love of the motherland. Education in "Soviet patriotism" is declared officially to be the "most important part of education in communist morality." This emphasis has been equalled or exceeded in

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# YOUTH SPEAKS FOR DEMOCRACY

Gaylord Sheets, Lansing, M

Rose Ellen Mudd, Missoula, M

LeRoy Amen, Cheyenne, W

Paul Roth, Asheville, N



**D**EMOCRACY is a living force with American school students if we may judge from the results of the recent "Voice of Democracy" contest, conducted by the National Association of Broadcasters and the Radio Manufacturers Association.

About 20,000 students in 500 communities took part in the contest which was sponsored in local communities by the U. S. Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Although the four national winners had not been selected at the time of going to press, a sup-

ply of 16-inch disc recordings of their winning radio speeches is expected to be available soon, through the courtesy of the National Association of Broadcasters. These recordings will be for loan distribution from the Script and Transcription Service, U.S. Office of Education, Washington 25, D.C.

Representative statements by 4 of 39 finalists (from 38 States and Alaska) and photographs of 8 of the finalists, which are available at time of going to press, are herewith presented. All statements were originally given as radio speeches.

G. W. Polhill, Lake City,

Bruce Loving, Memphis, T

Laura Shatto, Hagerstown,

Cecil Mahon, Santa Barbara, C

## Some Sample Scripts

**Dicksie Dillon**

**Boulder High School, Boulder, Colo.**

I speak for democracy.

Democracy is such a part of every American's life that most people accept it calmly and without wonderment, so let's take one day from your life and show how democracy is lived.

We'll start with Sunday.

You get up, that is if you want to, and go to church. On your way there you see other people hurrying to church also. You're probably not amazed that they're all going to churches of various denominations. You've seen it happen every Sunday since you can remember, and so you just accept the fact that you and your fellow man can go to any church you desire.

Stop and think for a moment. That's democracy you're seeing.

On coming out of church Mrs. Appopulus and Mrs. Stravinsky pass together and you stop and chat with them. Since they are going the same direction you are, you walk home with them.

On the way home you pass through the park and some man has set up his

own soap box and is giving a political lecture to anyone who will listen. You all three laugh at his efforts to convince people. But, remember, that's democracy in one of its more active forms.

When you arrive home the first thing you do is look at the Sunday paper. There is a clever cartoon of the President, and you and your family laugh heartily. As you are looking through the paper, you notice that Barton's Dress Shop needs a new store clerk. Although you already have a job at the gift shop, you decide Monday to go and apply at Barton's.

Without giving it a second thought, you hurry to start lunch. The right to laugh at a cartoon about the President of the U. S., the right to change your job—why there's nothing so unusual about that to you. Democracy is such a normal occurrence in our life, we don't even give it a second thought. From the time we wake up in the morning until we go to bed, we see and read and live democracy.

When I am speaking for democracy I am speaking for a way of life, a life where each man can preserve his human dignity and grow and develop as men should, not men as mere checkers on

the board of life who are moved or discarded as one man or group of men see fit.

Democracy means government for the people, and not people for the government. The individual is the thing that's important, not the state. Democracy is a means of letting men be free according to individual enterprise. It means providing education which opens the door to the riches of life. It means giving every man the right to make of himself the thing which he desires.

Democracy is living and moving before our eyes. If that were destroyed, our whole way of life would be lost. It's something which deserves to be spoken for by every man, woman, and child.

**Dorothy Williamson**

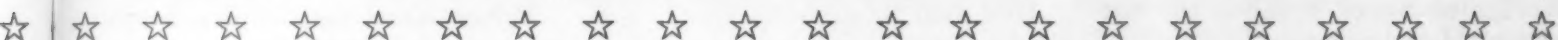
**Carrollton High School,  
Carrollton, Ga.**

I speak for democracy. I am democracy.

I am a method of government, a way of life, and a spirit in the hearts of men who desire freedom.

I was conceived in the minds of great men and brought forth by their efforts.





I am the child of wisdom and knowledge, nurtured in the spirit of truth.

I am imperfect yet men constantly seek to perfect me.

I am ageless and have no nationality.

Since my birth I have known good times and bad. In the golden age of Pericles and the Greek city states I flourished as an olive tree in the summer sun. In medieval Europe I was driven to the sanctuary of monasteries while the forces of evil overspread the land.

Down through the ages men have turned to me in hope and faith. I have been the dream of Simon Bolivar, Oliver Cromwell, George Washington, and Thomas Jefferson. I was the inspiration for their genius. I became the result of their labor.

But my disciples have not always been careful in their fight to achieve freedom.

In France people cried for liberty, equality, and fraternity, while the red blade of the guillotine descended again and again. The Russians in 1917 desired only to free the serfs and give all men equal rights, but the iron hand of authority is still heavy upon their throats.

I grow and expand when fed with truth and tolerance. But the germs of greed, hate, and prejudice weaken me with their poison.

I am a balance between necessary authority and individual freedom. When rightly interpreted, I give all men a chance to express themselves and to have a voice in the affairs of their nation.

I provide justice for all men regardless of race, creed, or color.

I am impersonal as the wind, yet I have become to some men a dream so personal that they are willing to die for me.

I lead the way to peace and prosperity, but I am less than nothing if I lack loyal followers.

I provide a representative government in which each individual is free to vote, and choose his leaders.

I develop thinkers and philosophers—men with ambition and initiative, scientists, engineers, business men, and artists work and accomplish near miracles under my influence.

I raise men in the light of truth and understanding, thereby setting their minds free from fear.

I give each man an equal chance for advancement according to his abilities.

I lead the way to cooperation among people, thus enabling them to be free from want.

I provide freedom of speech and religion. No man is forced to worship in a set manner. The newspapers and the radio are free to speak the truth. I impose no restrictions that are not necessary to the welfare of all.

Sometimes I am taken for granted. That is when the hate organizations and the fifth columnists strike at me with their barbs of lies and evil propaganda, knowing that they are protected by the very thing that they attack.

I have had other enemies also, and they have been men who will not be forgotten: Napoleon Bonaparte, Kaiser Wilhelm II, Benito Mussolini, Adolf Hitler; these have been the foes who sought to destroy me. Each had great armies, thousands of weapons, and many followers. Each was confident in his belief that he was supreme and all-powerful. But my champions were strong men, free men; they upheld my cause well and in each case I remained triumphant.

I have had my defeats, and there have been times when the flame in my lamp flickered and nearly died. But

Always there were hands to shield it from the winds and the storm.

I have one permanent home, a nation carved out of the wilderness and set up according to my principles and theories. And although I have dwelt briefly in various lands, it is in the United States of America that I have blossomed out and become full grown. Here are my people and they have guarded me well.

It is from this land that I must spread my influence to other nations so that all may enjoy my benefits. Now the United States is called the last stronghold of democracy.

I am painted as a defeated warrior who has retreated to the only fort left open to me. But I tell you I am not defeated, so long as men desire good above evil, so long as they believe right is greater than might, so long as they believe that all men are created free and equal.

That long am I still victorious over my enemies.

**Howard Hartzell**  
**Chautauqua Central High School,**  
**Chautauqua, N. Y.**

"Know ye not who would be free themselves must strike the blow," thundered Lord Byron. The words of that poet are highly significant today, when I say "I Speak for Democracy." In an hour of democracy's greatest test, I speak for that precept encased by such a broad and general term so frequently misused, overused, misapplied, taken for granted. Yes, I speak for democracy, the liabilities of which are forgotten along with the attributes. The democracy so endangered by a wavering, fatigued society in a strife-torn world.

And I say the time is now when many blows need be struck against those ruinous, negative influences which tear at the very foundation that holds high our democracy to the world and to posterity. Blows need be struck against class hatred, economic disunity, the fear and bias of one race, one religion, for another. Blows need be struck against political corruption, the refusal of the potent citizenry to wield its full power as the ruling electorate, and against the suppression of legitimate minorities. Indeed, blows need strike down that sense of false security which has led so many Americans to believe their system safe and indestructible,

that it has no responsibility to the rest of the world, that it can ignore the cries for help from fellow nations across the seas, or that it can ignore the expansion of the forces which seek to destroy the peace of mankind. And who shall strike these blows? We, the people of the United States, shall strike them—strengthened by faith in ourselves, by a rediscovery of our highest heritages, by the basic philosophies of our religions, and by our potency as free and enlightened individuals.

How shall we strike the blow? Not by the sword, I trust, nor by mob violence or blind fanaticism—rather we shall take an affirmative stand through reason, unity, and action, without sacrificing that restraint of lawful order so vital to a valid democracy. Thus, shall we wash from the land the systematic weaknesses in our framework that provide foreign isms their rooting ground.

We must utilize our radio, our press, our educational institutions, and every other medium for seeking facts and for self-expression, that we may never find ourselves struck in the back, blind, ignorant of problems and threats before us. Then we must extend to fellow democracies economic aid demonstrating our willingness to invest in this greatest of causes—the saving of international democracy and world peace: To do it in a manner compatible with that position our Nation holds before the close scrutiny of a suffering mankind.

I speak thus, for I have faith in the American people and in my own generation to carry out the responsibility today's democracy thrusts upon our backs. I speak for democracy, for it is only under this that the individual can live a full life. I speak for it because it is under such a system that the United States holds her number one position economically, while maintaining those basic human rights for every citizen as the law of the land.

I speak for this because when political democracy is combined with the free economy and free labor, as it surely must be, it is assured of growth and the eventual elimination of those evils which now it does contain. Socialism, fascism, communism—none of these can ever assure man of this growth, or of plenty, or of the pursuit of happiness. No, such foreign isms are static, mor-

bid—they rot, mold—once their roots are sunk into the hearts of a people. Once we have struck these blows of which I speak tonight, we may, indeed, know of what Cowper spoke when he declared: "Freedom has a thousand charms to show that slaves how e'er contented never know." What are the charms? Look into the hearts, the minds, the accomplishments of a revitalized American people. Who are the slaves? Glance across the front pages of today's newspapers.

Fellow Americans, I speak for democracy. It is worth defending, maintaining, and recreating.

Democracy is the right of every man to know himself, to function to his capacity, to hold fast those things he values, to be governed by his representatives, and to dream the dreams which will become for a dynamic people the reality of tomorrow.

**Jan Geister**  
**Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio**

When I was given the opportunity to enter this contest, "I Speak for Democracy," the first thing I did was to look up the word "democracy" in the dictionary.

Mr. Webster defined it as "government by the people, government in which the supreme power is retained by the people and exercised by representation."

There is a vast meaning in those words—a meaning bigger than Mr. Noah Webster's conception or George Washington's, or Abraham Lincoln's, or yours or mine.

But perhaps you'll listen a few moments to one person's idea of democracy.

I am 16 years of age and attend a public high school in a comparatively small town in Ohio. Of course, like most people, I have ideas on certain subjects. Some of these are good, some bad, some right, and some wrong. Perhaps as I grow older my ideas will change, but I know my idea of democracy will not. Because it is more than an idea, it is an ideal.

To me, democracy means a way of life. As I grow older, it means I will be able to help choose the representatives in the Senate, the House of Representatives, and the President himself. This means that I will have a real voice in my government. And it also means



that I will undertake a great responsibility. And I will accept this responsibility gratefully, even eagerly, knowing that only in a democracy could a citizen have such an opportunity.

As I grow older, I will also realize more fully what is meant by "freedom": Freedom of worship, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom to rise as far in any field as a person's hard work and ability can take him, regardless of his race or creed.

I wonder how many children in other parts of the world can look forward to such a future of freedom.

But right now democracy means to me the everyday things in life, the things which we accept and enjoy without full appreciation of their meaning and often take so much for granted; the things that give us pleasure, the things that give us happiness: Drinking a soda at the corner drugstore, attending high school, outside activities such as the concert course we attend every month, which gives such a grown-up feeling, clubs at school, the fun we have participating in the community plays, football games on Friday night, the idea that an opportunity is given to persons my age to enter a contest like this and give an opinion on an important subject such as democracy.

For democracy is important. To the people in other countries of the world where other forms of government exist, the United States and democracy are the one shining light and hope in an otherwise dark world. If democracy fails, what next?

Oh, not that democracy is perfect, not that it doesn't have its faults. But when 130,000,000 people believe in the same principle and are working toward that principle—well, it just has to be a success. That's the only way.

Democracy is on trial. The United States and other members of the United Nations are the deciding factors in the difference between the success and the failure, not of the peace, but of the world. As our forefathers fought and died to leave us this proud heritage of freedom, so must we strive to preserve that freedom for future generations—strive to eliminate racial discrimination, and strive to preserve the principles of free enterprise that have made our country the leading power that it is today.

Our responsibility to the world is great. We *must not* fail to live up to this responsibility. Yes, I do speak for democracy. I speak wholeheartedly, eagerly, thankfully, knowing that here in America people enjoy a way of life which is only hoped for by people of other countries.

### Winners in State Contests

ARIZONA, Jack Blackman, Litchfield High School, Litchfield  
 ARKANSAS, Patricia Thach Walton, Arkadelphia High School, Arkadelphia  
 CALIFORNIA, Cecil Mahon, Catholic High School, Santa Barbara  
 COLORADO, Dickie Dillon, Boulder High School, Boulder  
 CONNECTICUT, Seth Harris, William Hall High School, West Hartford  
 DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, Nancy Saunders, Roosevelt High School  
 FLORIDA, G. W. Polhill, Lake City  
 GEORGIA, Dorothy Williamson, Carrollton High School, Carrollton  
 IDAHO, Mac Wright, Boise High School, Boise  
 ILLINOIS, Robert Beechner, East High School, Rockford  
 INDIANA, George Franklin Feldman, Bosse High School, Evansville  
 IOWA, Margaret Reed, Waterloo  
 KANSAS, Patricia Anne Martin, Ward High School, Kansas City  
 KENTUCKY, Bobby Clint Cayee, Hopkinsville  
 LOUISIANA, Edele Broussard, New Iberia  
 MAINE, Linwood Morrell, Kennebec County  
 MARYLAND, Laura Shatto, Hagerstown

MICHIGAN, Gaylord Sheets, Sexton High School, Lansing  
 MINNESOTA, Rose De Rosier, Washington High School, Brainerd  
 MISSOURI, Shirley A. Schuette, St. Elizabeth's Academy, St. Louis  
 MONTANA, Rose Ellen Mudd, Sacred Heart Academy, Missoula  
 NEW HAMPSHIRE, Frances Epstein, Central High School, Manchester  
 NEW YORK, Howard Hartzell, Chautauqua Central High School, Chautauqua  
 NORTH CAROLINA, Paul Roth, Lee Edwards High School, Asheville  
 OHIO, Jan Geister, Cuyahoga Falls  
 OKLAHOMA, Alice Wade Tyree, Lawton High School, Lawton  
 OREGON, Edward French, University High School, Eugene  
 PENNSYLVANIA, Marguerite Christine, Upper Darby  
 SOUTH CAROLINA, Anne Dreher, Moncks Corner High School, Moncks Corner  
 SOUTH DAKOTA, Larry Ennis Scott, Mount Vernon High School, Mount Vernon  
 TENNESSEE, Bruce Loving, Messick High School, Memphis  
 TEXAS, John Waddle, Sherman  
 UTAH, Janice Page, Kaysville  
 VIRGINIA, Kenneth Whitlock, Lucy Atkinson High School, Roanoke  
 WASHINGTON, Carl Hancuff, Vancouver High School, Vancouver  
 WEST VIRGINIA, Mary Angelina Mirable, Welch High School, Roderfield  
 WISCONSIN, Lloyd Ogelvie, Madison  
 WYOMING, LeRoy Amen, Cheyenne High School, Cheyenne

(The name of the ALASKA winner is not yet available.)

### The Challenge of Soviet Education

(From page 19)

our time only by the fascist totalitarian powers—Germany, Italy, and Japan. The Bolsheviks have recovered every vestige from the past that can be made to add lustre to the record of the Great Russians, and particularly in the sphere of military valor and glory. Also, the young are told, love of the motherland means "irreconcilable hatred toward the enemies of socialist society."

Fourth, the Russians are preparing the young for war. Formal military training begins in the fourth grade. Emphasis on military games is found in the nursery school and the kindergarten; and all subjects of study are supposed to serve this purpose. The recent abolition of coeducation from the first grade through the secondary school in communities large enough to maintain

two separate systems was called forth "chiefly by the necessity of differentiating the military-physical preparation of the two sexes." Also the Russians have established special boarding schools to train selected boys from the age of seven to become officers in the Red Army and the Red Fleet.

Fifth, the Russians are building in the minds of the young a perfectly fantastic loyalty to Stalin and the Communist Party. Stalin's picture hangs in every classroom and Stalin's name is invoked at every gathering or assembly of children or youth. He is consistently portrayed in truly heroic or even godlike proportions, the embodiment of all that is wise and good, the architect of both the civil and the military triumphs of the time. The young hear not a word of public criticism of his character or leadership. They hear only praise without stint. And the

Party holds the place among organizations that Stalin holds among men. Party members are commonly referred to as "our best people." The foundations of this loyalty are laid from the earliest years in the repeated injunction that the child must be taught to obey the orders of the teacher and the leader.

Such blind and unswerving loyalty to a person or the leadership of a party is fraught with danger to the whole world. It introduces into the behavior of one of the two most powerful states on earth a pattern ordinarily associated with the conduct of an army. Whatever the orders of the high command, even though they may contradict the orders of yesterday, they are obeyed implicitly. The Soviet leaders are striving to build a mentality in the masses of the people that will make possible the most radical change of line in either domestic or foreign affairs without serious criticism or loss of popular support. Whatever the policy, if it is endorsed by Stalin and the Party, it will be accepted as correct, right, wise, and necessary. Whoever the enemy, if he is named by Stalin and the Party, he will be accepted as the enemy of the Soviet people and will call forth their wrath and hatred.

Sixth, the Russians are rearing the young in a new religion founded on a species of philosophical materialism.

Already this religion possesses four major prophets and a vast sacred literature. These prophets, Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, are the ultimate sources of authority on all crucial matters. An author or speaker in almost any field involving, even remotely, social ideas and programs invariably buttresses what he has to say with quotations from the writings of these men. This religion, moreover, has its apocalypse. Its devotees believe as certainly in the ultimate triumph of communism on the earth as the early Christians believed in the "second coming." This religion also has its ritual. Illustrative is the following formula with which in slightly varying pattern resolutions addressed to Stalin without number are commonly closed:

Hail our powerful socialistic Motherland!

Hail the party of Lenin and Stalin—inspirer and organizer of our victories!

Hail the great leader of the Soviet people, our beloved father and teacher, comrade Stalin!

#### IV

The power of the Communist faith must not be underestimated. Although the total Soviet social and educational program must frighten and repel all

who have been nurtured in the truly humane, liberal, and democratic traditions of mankind, it contains elements which make a universal appeal, evoke the idealism of the young, and arouse the hopes of the oppressed and exploited of the earth. It proclaims that the way of dictatorship, a dictatorship of a monolithic party, is the only effective way of removing the inequalities, the injustices, and the insecurities among men and nations and of establishing a lasting peace on the earth.

This phase of the challenge is addressed directly to American democracy. If we are to meet it successfully, we shall have to demonstrate that the way of liberty is also the way to equality, to the elimination of poverty and misery, to the banishment from the earth of every form of exploitation and oppression. This means that we shall have to achieve a new birth of freedom at home, strive with all our might to make our democracy live and work, take seriously the professions inscribed in our great historic documents, and endeavor to order our life and institutions so that all of our people, regardless of race, creed, or national origin, will share fully in the benefits and blessings, the duties and responsibilities, of free men. This is the one sure road to the preservation of the "sacred fire of liberty" in America and the world.

## Educational Meetings

*American Association of Junior Colleges*, Feb. 25-27, Kansas City, Mo. Secretary, JESSE P. BOGUE, 1201 Nineteenth Street NW., Washington 6, D. C.

*American Association of School Administrators (NEA)*, Feb. 21-26, Atlantic City, N. J. Secretary, WORTH MCCLURE, 1201 Sixteenth Street NW., Washington 6, D. C.

*American Association of Teachers Colleges (NEA)*, Feb. 19-21, Atlantic City, N. J. Secretary, CHARLES W. HUNT, President State Teachers College, Oneonta, N. Y.

*American Educational Research Association (NEA)*, Feb. 21-26, Atlantic City, N. J. Secretary, FRANK W. HUBBARD, 1201 Sixteenth

Street NW., Washington 6, D. C. *Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (NEA)*, Feb. 15-18, Cincinnati, Ohio. Secretary, GERTRUDE HANKAMP, 1201 Sixteenth Street NW., Washington 6, D. C.

*Department of Adult Education (NEA)*, Feb. 25-27, Atlantic City, N. J. Secretary, LELAND P. BRADFORD, 1201 Sixteenth Street NW., Washington 6, D. C.

*Department of Elementary School Principals (NEA)*, Feb. 21-26, Atlantic City, N. J. Secretary, EVA G. PINKSTON, 1201 Sixteenth Street NW., Washington 6, D. C.

*Department of Home Economics (NEA)*, Feb. 20-21, Atlantic City, N. J. Secretary, MARY N. SMITH, Franklin Roosevelt High School, Atlanta, Ga.

*Department of Rural Education (NEA)*, Feb. 21-26, Atlantic City, N. J. Secretary, HOWARD A. DAWSON, 1201 Sixteenth Street NW., Washington 6, D. C.

*National Association for Research in Science Teaching*, Feb. 22, Atlantic City, N. J. Secretary, CLARENCE M. PRUITT, College Station, Stillwater, Okla.

*National Association of State Directors of Elementary Education*, Feb. 19-20, Cincinnati, Ohio. Secretary, HELEN K. MACKINTOSH, U. S. Office of Education, Washington 25, D. C.

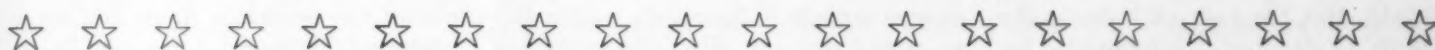
*National Council on Elementary Science*, Feb. 22, Atlantic City, N. J. Secretary, GLENN O. BLOUGH, U. S. Office of Education, Washington 25, D. C.

(Turn to page 36)



# Hopes for Peace Through the United Nations

by Ambassador Warren R. Austin, the Representative of the United States  
at the Seat of the United Nations



**W**ORLD PEACE — can it be achieved through the United Nations?

My answer is a strong conviction that we can achieve peace through the United Nations. Had I not believed this possible, I would have remained in the United States Senate last year to participate in the national leadership of my party. If I did not today have confidence in this possibility, I would not continue in my complete devotion to the task of making peace secure.

I realize that if a determined majority of the people, in whose name the United Nations Charter was written, fail to share this faith in their own cause, the most important factor for success will be lacking. Unless world opinion believes we can achieve world peace through the United Nations none of the member nations will, in the long run, persevere in policies likely to crown our efforts for collective security with ultimate success. Determination to use the United Nations' agencies as well as to carry out individual member obligations is fundamental.

## Peace Really Costs

The price of peace is high. It involves sacrifices, risks, and compromises between short-run interests. These sacrifices will not be made, these risks will not be taken, these compromises will not be accepted, unless the people have faith in the cause of peace through the United Nations. The United Nations as an organization cannot, by itself, achieve peace and order in the world. It is impotent unless the great majority of its members, and especially its more powerful states, use the organization intelligently and persistently to act in concert for their mutual welfare and security.

Every individual could strengthen the basis for faith by firm adherence to the principles which unite the world

organization, namely sovereign equality and universality. He could help to make the union stronger and more perfect by advocating practical policies



and deeds that are feasible and opposing changes—even idealist ones—that divide and nullify.

For example, he could insist that his government send its ablest men and women to represent his country in the councils and commissions of the United Nations. He could support those representatives with adequate budgets to enable them to do their work effectively, and likewise to invest his nation's share in the working budgets of the international organization to enable it to carry out responsibilities assigned to it. He could take the pains to understand the problems with which the representatives are dealing. He could support them in concluding agreements for world welfare, even though smaller national interests may be required to forego short-run advantages. He could seek earnestly to learn *what* is right rather than *who* is right. He could encourage his representatives in winning positive and constructive steps toward agreements even though the ultimate goal seemed far off.

## Reasonable Men Seek Peace

Peace is always possible until war is

made inevitable. The reasonable man, recognizing the unpredictable disaster of war, seeks peace by every means and considers no effort wasted which promises the slightest chance of security against war. The United Nations provides a continuous facility touching all aspects of international life which can be used to seek peace and to prevent war. It has yet to be proved that peace will be preserved by unceasing effort to make intelligent use of the organization, but we can be sure that failure to make the effort—to take full advantage of this facility—will forfeit the chances for peace and unleash the forces for war. The United Nations gives us a practical means of struggling systematically day in and day out on every front for the conditions of peace and against every incipient threat of war. If we did not have such a general organization where representatives of most of the nations of the world could grapple with common problems, we would be just beginning to create one.

There is no practical alternative to the United Nations. I am convinced that the Charter agreed upon at San Francisco represented then, and still represents, the maximum area of agreement among independent states on the means for international collaboration for collective security. As time goes on, the forms and procedures of the United Nations organizations may be improved by agreement in the light of experience. But we have only begun work with this new machinery and it is too early to suggest sweeping changes. The hope for improvement depends upon developing a fundamental support for the existing institution. If we do not work loyally with this organization, on what basis can we secure confidence in any other? Of course, we improve and strengthen the union by using its facilities.

The only kind of international organization which can possibly bring to

bear the processes of discussion and negotiation on the problem of peace is one which keeps the contending parties around the conference table. It would, of course, be much easier to reach agreements, if the association assembled only those nations which appear to be like-minded. But the task of keeping the peace is to facilitate negotiations between nations most "unlike-minded." Obviously, the only hope of world peace is to achieve it between those nations with vital differences. A measure of my confidence in the United Nations as the means for peace rests precisely on the fact that it associates nations with great differences under a single body of accepted principles and commitments.

### **Chaos Threatens Government**

I believe in the United Nations as an instrument for building world peace because it provides machinery for international collaboration in creating the conditions of peace in the General Assembly, the Trusteeship Council, the Economic and Social Council, and the Specialized Agencies such as the Food and Agriculture Organization. We need these facilities to work out long-range programs designed to lift the level of productivity, foster sensible rules of trade and commerce, and develop retarded areas both economically and politically. Chaos and economic paralysis threaten stable and democratic government.

Peace cannot be maintained for long by a collective security program which relies for support on weak and shaky governments or—what is worse—on more and more dictatorial governments suppressing embittered and resentful factions.

We must do many things to open the way for reconstruction and development and to stimulate the application of modern knowledge to the problems of production and distribution. In hundreds of ways, the United Nations is now working on this constructive phase of collective security—assembling basic facts and formulating draft agreements and proposals for collective action. Please bear in mind when I emphasize action through the United Nations that in the Assembly, in the Economic and Social Council, and in the Specialized Agencies a simple or two-thirds majority can proceed to take

any action. No single vote can hold up agreement or action in the social and economic field. Some nations may refuse to participate, but they cannot thereby prevent the others from collaborating for mutual benefits. Moreover, the objectors are under strong compulsion to explain to their own people and to world opinion why they will not cooperate with the majority. Successful operation will be the irresistible persuasion to full cooperation.

### **We Have Means To Overcome Chaos**

My confidence in the ability of the leaders of the United Nations to create the conditions for peace rests on a solid fact. They have at their command to do the job the greatest power mankind has ever possessed. The chaos may be widespread, but the extent of our power to overcome it should give us unbounded assurance. What we have to do is to work cooperatively with the twentieth century means at our command.

We cannot expect to get personal or national security in the midst of economic crisis. There is no prospect of obtaining such security apart from building it for the world. Prosperity, like peace, in the long run is indivisible. We, in the United States, who have half the production power of the world, are deprived of immense trading opportunities because many other people we deal with have less power to produce. From our own point of view it is in our interest to help others to increase their productivity. This is not merely a question of helping neighbors by transporting our products to them as gifts or loans. Rather, it is a matter of getting agreements and common plans to apply modern principles of production everywhere and to facilitate the freest possible exchange of the product for mutual advantage. Achieving this end is our best hope for peace because we thereby remove the causes of fear and suspicion and instill self-confidence. We remove a cause of war. In the process these agreements bind the peoples of the world together by actually organizing them to work for each other on a basis of relative equality.

To do what is now possible through existing machinery requires only the

enlightened will of the peoples of most of the nations. Some countries, too enslaved by fears and outmoded notions of power-politics, may hold back and even try to obstruct such a program. They need not trouble us if the great majority of peoples who want to get out of the economic ditch and on the highroad of peaceful production will act together and keep together, always striving to extend the cooperative program universally. No nation can veto such cooperation. Once the world is moving forward all along the line, no political leadership can long refuse to join the procession.

A great respect for public opinion is another basis for my confidence in the United Nations as a means of keeping the peace. I know that those with vision find it difficult to wait for public opinion to understand the facts and to support the necessary action. Some of us were alarmed when we watched Hitler move step by step toward world conquest, one little country at a time. But it was necessary to wait for public opinion to be educated by events to the point where it was prepared to present a world-front against this aggression. In the future everyone can help to speed up the process of education so that the force of public opinion will crystallize early, rather than late.

### **Unity Means Potential Strength**

I believe in the United Nations because in the General Assembly, in the Security Council, and in the other organs the issues of peace and war can be examined in the open and understood in the early stages. Common sense tells us that no man, by raising his hand against a substantial majority of people who understand the facts and are prepared to act together, can nullify the purposes of the United Nations Charter. The danger lies in the possibility of confusion in public opinion—the failure of the people, whose destinies are at stake, to understand the issue and the progress made. If the people understand that the vote of one representative at the Security Council means an attempt to support his nation in breaking its word not to use force or the threat of force against a neighbor, the gesture of the raised hand will be futile. Indeed, no intelligent man would dare to



try it if he really believed that behind the majority votes were peoples who understood the issue and were prepared in the last analysis to support the Charter by collective force. That means being ready to act if necessary, in the early stages—when the first helpless country is menaced.

I have confidence in the United Nations because it can and does deal with conditions likely to endanger the peace and threats to the peace, in the early stages. That is the point at which insistent and exhaustive discussion of all the facts can produce a peaceful settlement.

Our task is to prevent only one war—the next one. That task requires acting day in and day out through the United Nations and outside of its organization in support of the Charter. It means concentrating on small conflicts and stopping the shooting before it spreads. It means keeping world opinion alert both to the dangers and to the opportunities of our century.

In expressing this line of reasoning, I am putting the emphasis not on the United Nations organization as the guarantor of peace and progress, but on the peoples of the United Nations whose governments must make it work. The United Nations cannot be a failure; but the member nations could fail to make the United Nations a success. Whether or not this happens rests with the peoples of the world.

### **People Want Peace and Security**

If any substantial number of people wanted war or demanded domination over others, our problem would indeed be complicated, if not hopeless. But peoples everywhere in overwhelming majorities desperately want peace and are willing to respect the rights of others for security in their own rights. It is largely a matter of translating this strong common desire into practical actions.

We have as our assets, therefore, the common desire, the accumulated experience of all peoples in meeting complex problems, the vast power of the twentieth century, and the United Nations through which we can work together.

*On these four assets I base my confidence that world peace can be achieved through the United Nations.*

# **Evaluation of Citizenship Education**

by David Segel and Earl Hutchinson,  
Division of Secondary Education

**H**OW EFFECTIVE is citizenship education in our schools? When lay people ask whether students are well versed in the principles of democracy, what is the answer? When newspaper and magazine articles voice doubts whether young people know enough facts about American history or have a patriotic zeal, do educators have any evidence to offer to the contrary? Does the school's citizenship education program affect the attitude and behavior of an individual? Do people with the most education vote least frequently? Do American youth know the truth about other forms of government and other ideologies?

We believe that administrators and teachers would welcome information on current evaluative techniques and services which reveal the civic status of youth. Such knowledge could pave the way for improvement in the school's program for citizenship. While no single instrument is currently available that measures accurately *all* facts about citizenship, good beginnings have come out of fragmentary approaches. The broad scope of the problem makes it difficult for one test to give complete and satisfactory coverage. The magnitude of the task is better appreciated when we consider the three major areas of good citizenship to which the school contributes: (1) Providing adequate knowledge and understandings; (2) creating skills of critical thinking and democratic attitudes; and (3) establishing situations in which the democratic way of life may actually be practiced.

All of these areas have importance. The acquisition of knowledge of certain historical, political, social, and economic facts is necessary to logical thinking. The memorization and recall of ideas are not the same as the ability to think or understand. Therefore, learning the use of and the method of search for pertinent facts employed in the understanding or solving of a problem is best achieved in functional teaching. A major skill required in a democracy is that of critical thinking, which must be-

come habitual in order that citizens bring to bear on each issue a marshaling of intellectual forces which will produce a sound conclusion. Attitudes stem from understandings and are nurtured by proper choices influenced by intellectual reasoning. In the final instance, what people know, understand, or profess loses its value if their actions belie their words. A true measure of a citizenship program is the extent to which pupils live democratically and the extent to which reasoning guides action.

The United States Office of Education is preparing plans and aids to help teachers develop a more effective citizenry with appropriate zeal for American democracy. Because domestic and international conditions are so unsettled, it is urgent that teachers now evaluate and intensify their efforts. Tests appropriate to various grade levels should be given, which reveal the extent of knowledges and understandings, the quality of skills and attitudes, and the degree of democratic behavior by students. Corrective measures may then be instituted in those areas found deficient.

Objective tests are available which enable teachers to diagnose in part the extent and quality of civic virtues of students. Several tests may be required to provide a profile significant to curriculum improvement, for each test measures only specific aspects of citizenship.

Among the prevalent measuring instruments, the following have been selected as particularly pertinent to the problem:

### **Tests on History and Geography**

#### *Coordinated Scales of Attainment.*

History and Geography. For grades 4-8. Educational Test Bureau, Philadelphia 4, Pa., and Minneapolis, Minn.

#### *Metropolitan Achievement Tests.*

History, Civics, and Geography. For grades 4-8. World Book Company, Yonkers 5, N. Y.

*U. S. A. F. I. American History Test.* For high school. Cooperative Test Service, New York 23, N. Y., or Science Research Associates, Chicago 4, Ill.

#### **Tests of Contemporary Social Development**

*Cooperative Test on Recent Social and Scientific Developments.* For grades 10-12. A new test each year. Cooperative Test Service, New York 23, N. Y.

#### **Tests of Critical Thinking (Not Specifically Directed to One Area)**

*Watson-Glasen Tests of Critical Thinking.* For high school and college. World Book Company, Yonkers 5, N. Y.

#### **Tests on Democratic Knowledge and Principles**

*Best Thing To Do.* A test of knowledge of Social Standards. Tests through the solution of a problem situation. Stanford University Press, Stanford University, Calif.

*Cooperative General Achievement Tests.* Interpretation of reading materials in social and democratic principles. For high school and beginning college. Cooperative Test Service, New York 23, N. Y.

*Cooperative Social Studies Tests.* For grades 7, 8, and 9. Tests of knowledge, organizing facts and interpreting reading materials in social and democratic principles. Cooperative Test Service, New York 23, N. Y.

*Good Citizenship Test.* Tests through the solution of problem situations. For grades 5-8. Association Press, New York, N. Y.

*Progressive Tests in Social and Related Sciences.* Tests of knowledge and understanding of democratic principles (involves solution of some practical problems). Part 1. The American Heritage and Peoples of Other Lands and Times. For grades 4-8. California

Test Bureau, Los Angeles 28, Calif.

*Socially Competent Person.* Tests through the solution of problems, understandings in health, personal economies, family and community relationships, and social and democratic relationships. For grades 6-12. Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

*A Test of Civic Action.* Tests through the solution of problem situations. For grades 6-12. Public School Publishing Company, Bloomington, Ill.

*Test of Knowledge and Social Usage.* For grades 7-12. Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

*U. S. A. F. I. General Educational Development Tests. Form B.* Test 2 Interpretation of Read-

ing Materials in the Social Studies. One for high school and one for college. Cooperative Test Service, New York 23, N. Y. or Science Research Associates, Chicago 4, Ill.

*What Would You Do?* Tests Through the Solution of Problem Situations. For high school. Committee on Publications, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

#### **Techniques for Observing in Schools Democratic Principles in Action**

There are few adequate techniques in this area. One of promise is:

*Scale for Evaluating the School Behavior of Children 10 to 15.* A scheme for the rating of individual pupils by teachers or by other pupils on various phases of social and democratic behavior in school. Psychological Corporation, New York 18, N. Y.

## **AMERICANISM, COMMUNISM, AND FASCISM**

*In the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for November 24, 1947, the Honorable Wright Patman, Representative from Texas, under extension of remarks, presented a comparison of Americanism, Communism, and Fascism. This comparison had been compiled by the Coordinator of Information for the United States House of Representatives. We believe that in this brief parallel form the major aspects of the three types of Government have been clearly set forth. Teachers and students should find this comparative chart useful.*

The national conscience, under free government of laws, is the composite conscience of all its individual citizens. It operates through the process of proposal, disagreement, discussion, and compromise.

Under a centralized government by men there is no national conscience—only the will of those in control of the state.

The true test and value of all govern-

ment is its effect upon the individual citizens; upon individual spiritual, cultural, and material progress.

A philosopher of the seventeenth century defined the function of government perfectly when he wrote:

"The last end of the state is not to dominate men, nor to restrain them by fear; rather it is so to free each man from fear that he may live and act with full security and without injury to himself or his neighbor. The end of the state, I repeat, is not to make rational beings into brute beasts and machines. It is to enable their bodies and their minds to function safely. It is to lead men to live by, and to exercise a free reason that they may not waste their strength in hatred, anger, and guile, nor act unfairly toward one another. Thus the end of the state is really liberty."<sup>1</sup>

(NOTE.—Prewar Italy, Germany, Japan, and Franco Spain are taken as types of fascistic governments. Russia is taken as the type of government called communistic.)



## AMERICANISM

*Founded upon—*

Faith of the people in and devotion to God.

Right as might.

Dignity and value of the individual, and importance of his spiritual, cultural, and material progress.

### *Freedom*

Of religion.

Of political expression.

Of speech (radio).

Of press.

Of education; youth may choose course of education desired.

From unreasonable search and seizure.

From excessive fines, or cruel and unreasonable punishment.

Of individual to choose his own means of livelihood within the law.

Of consumers to choose goods and services they desire.

### *Rights*

Security of the home.

Of peaceable assembly.

Of petition.

Of habeas corpus.

Of speedy trial by jury.

Of confronting accusers.

Of private property under due process of law.

Rights of minorities to be inviolate.

### *Fruitage*

Highest living levels on earth.

Highest wages on earth.<sup>3</sup> Average wage 63.9 cents per hour; \$5.912 per day. Dollar equals 100 cents.

## COMMUNISM

*Founded upon—*

The people's fear of and submission to the state.

Might as right.

Unimportance of the individual and his progress, except as an instrument of the state.

### *Freedom*

State limited toleration of religious teachings.

Ruthless suppression of political expression.

Ruthless suppression of free speech and use of radio.

Press strictly controlled by the State.

All teachings strictly controlled by state. Government drafts annually from 800,000 to 1,000,000 boys between 14 and 17 years for industrial training, after which they work for state 4 years.<sup>2</sup>

No protection against search and seizure, no matter how unreasonable, by petty bureaucrats.

Excessive fines, and cruel and unreasonable punishment the rule.

Individual must work as, and where, ordered by state. Petty administrators issue such decrees.

Consumers must take such goods and services, and at such prices, as decreed by the state rulers.

### *Rights*

No security of the home. Secret police invade the home when they please, with or without pretext.

No assemblies permitted except those conforming to official dictates.

Not permitted. No one may safely criticize, or ask for changes in administration of governmental affairs.

Secret police are subject to no rules, and no limits except those of their superiors in making arrests and meting out punishment.

Citizens can be arrested, held incommunicado, committed to long terms of imprisonment, or even executed without trial, and on confessions extorted by torture of prisoners and/or their loved ones.

No such right. Police are supreme in their charges. No real right of defense exists.

No right of private property exists. Rulers of State take whatever they want. If possessor objects he may be liquidated by terror police.

Minorities have no rights. Are cruelly and ruthlessly suppressed or exploited at whims of administrators, big or little.

### *Fruitage*

Very low living levels.

Low wages as decreed by the state. Wage statistics not available.<sup>4</sup>

## FASCISM

*Founded upon—*

The people's fear of and submission to the state.

Might as right.

Unimportance of the individual and his progress, except as an instrument of the state.

### *Freedom*

State limited toleration of religious teachings.

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No such right. Police were supreme in their charges. No real right of defense existed.

Dictators "owned the owners." Right of private property existed as an implement of the State.

Minorities had no rights. Were cruelly and ruthlessly suppressed or exploited at whims of administrators, big or little.

### *Fruitage*

Very low living levels.

Low wages as decreed by the state.<sup>3</sup> Italy: 2.26 lira per hour; equaled 5.26 cents; equaled 95 cents per day.<sup>3</sup>

Footnotes at end of speech.

## AMERICANISM

### *Fruitage*

Food for 1 day for family of 5 costs American wage earner 1½ hours' labor.<sup>10</sup>

Suit of clothes costs average American worker 1 week of work.<sup>11</sup>

Radio costs average American worker 1 week of work.<sup>11</sup>

American living standards for average worker 10 times higher than in Russia.<sup>11</sup>

Wages in America, estimated straight hourly wage basis, industries only, have risen 78.3 as against a cost-of-living rise, over all, of 57.8, since 1941. Different ways of figuring living costs and wage rates may bring varying results, but it is safe to say wage increases since 1941 have more than kept pace with increases in living costs.<sup>12</sup>

Best working conditions on earth.

Best free educational system on earth.<sup>5</sup> Ratio of teachers to population: 1 teacher to each 119 population (1940).

Best independent labor, agricultural and business organizations on earth.

Best transportation and highway system on earth.<sup>6</sup> United States passenger miles, 1938: (a) Highways, including buses: 239,808,000,000. (b) Railroads, steam and electric: 22,456,000,000.

More luxuries and comforts for the people.

More automobiles.<sup>7</sup> Per capita distribution of motor vehicles, January 1, 1939: One automobile per 4.3 persons.

More radios.<sup>8</sup> United States: Sets per 1,000 population (1946), 425.

More refrigerators, electric and gas kitchens.<sup>9</sup> (a) Number refrigerators: 16,200,000. (b) Percentage of world total: 90.2.

More telephones. United States has 15.37 telephones per 100 population.<sup>13</sup>

## COMMUNISM

### *Fruitage*

Same amount of food costs Russian worker over seven times as much, or more than 10 hours labor.<sup>10</sup>

Suit of clothes costs average Russian worker 7 weeks' work.

Radio costs average Russian worker 15 weeks of work.<sup>11</sup>

Russian living standards for average worker only one-tenth as high as American level.<sup>11</sup>

Wages in Russia have risen less than half as much as prices of rationed goods since 1941.<sup>12</sup> Prices of unrationed goods are four times as high as prices of rationed goods.<sup>12</sup>

Long hours. Poor plants. The women and children do heavy labor. Unsanitary conditions in many plants. Dangerous conditions in many fields.

No statistics available.

No such independent organizations permitted. Wage earners and farmers obey orders of petty administrators. Are bedeviled by hordes of spies and inspectors.

Poor transportation and highway systems. Russian passenger kilometers, 1938, 95,900,000,000. (Kilometer equals 3,280.8 feet, nearly five-eighths of a mile.) No highway statistics available.

No luxuries or comforts for the common people. Only for the bureaucrats.

Russia: One automobile per 253 persons.

Possession of radio by private citizen without permit of some petty bureaucrat means arrest and punishment. Russia: Sets per 1,000 population: 8.1 (1946).<sup>8</sup>

Only officials permitted to have these luxuries. No record, according to Department of Commerce, of any refrigerators having been imported or used. Ice from natural sources may to some degree be conserved and used.

Only officials have telephones. Ordinary citizens could not have one. Russia had 0.75 telephones per 100 population.<sup>13</sup>

## FASCISM

### *Fruitage*

Japan: 206 sen per day (9½ hours); equaled 49½ cents.<sup>2</sup> Germany: 78.2 reichspfennigs: equaled \$2.51 per day.<sup>3</sup> Spain: No statistics are available.

Long hours. Poor plants. Unsanitary conditions. Dangerous conditions in many lines. Germany and Japan had good plants in some lines. Better conditions than Italy, Spain, or Russia.

Italy: One teacher to each 226 of population (1937). Japan: One teacher to each 211 population (1937). Germany: One teacher to each 258 population (1938). Spain: No statistics are available.

No such independent organizations permitted. Wage earners and farmers obeyed orders of petty administrators. Were bedeviled by hordes of spies and inspectors.

Poor transportation and highway systems. Germany partial exception. Japan, passenger miles, 1937: (a) Highways, including buses: 1,651,761,000. (b) Railroads, steam and electric, 1937: 19,379,000,000. Italy: (a) No statistics available. (b) State railways, kilometers, 1939: 11,773,000,000. Germany and Sudetenland, 1938: (a) Reichbahn only: passenger kilometers 58,977,700,000 (Austria included). (b) No statistics available. Spain: No statistics available.

No luxuries or comforts for the common people. Only for the bureaucrats and the rich.

Japan: One automobile per 388 persons. Italy: One automobile per 93 persons. Germany: One automobile per 42 persons. Spain: One automobile per 197 persons.

Possession of radio by private citizen without permit of some petty bureaucrat meant arrest and punishment. Germany: Sets per 1,000 population (1944) 167.7. Japan: Sets per 1,000 population (1943) 93.3. Italy: Sets per 1,000 population (1946) 32.7. Spain: Sets per 1,000 population, 14.<sup>8</sup>

Germany: 200,000; percentage of world total, 1.32. Japan: (est.) 6,000; percentage of world total, 0.04. Italy: 20,000; percentage of world total, 0.15. Spain: 10,000; percentage of world total, 0.06.

Only officials and business houses had telephones. Ordinary citizen could not have one. Germany: Had 5.20 telephones per 100 population. Japan: Had 1.89 telephones per 100 population. Italy: Had 1.41 telephones per 100 population. Spain: Had 1.1 telephones per 100 population.<sup>13</sup>



## AMERICANISM

### Fruitage

More theatres. As of 1940, United States had 17,003.<sup>14</sup>

Better and more extensive health facilities. Number hospital beds in use (1939), 1,195,206.<sup>15</sup> Number of physicians (1946), 180,000.<sup>16</sup> Number of dentists (1947), 82,000.<sup>17</sup>

More toys, books, and joys for children. More sports and amusements.

Individual may safely obey his conscience under government of laws.

For proof, see life in America around you; the daily and periodical press, and history.

<sup>14</sup> Baruch Spinoza.

<sup>15</sup> World Almanac, 1947.

<sup>16</sup> All wage rates are for industry. Figures of rates are for 8-hour day, except Japan, was 9½-hour day. All rate figures are from International Labor Statistics, in form given here. Exchange rates are from Federal Reserve Board. Purchasing power of dollar varied in different countries somewhat at different times, but never sufficiently to make earning capacity of labor under communism or fascism at all comparable to United States labor.

<sup>17</sup> Ruble does not circulate outside Russia. Prices fixed and changed at will by the state.

<sup>18</sup> Number of school teachers includes all kinds, grades, public and private, including universities. Number of teachers in case of each country came from International Bureau of Education, Office of

## COMMUNISM

### Fruitage

Few theatres. All plays or pictures strictly censored by bureaucrats. Russia had 3,000.<sup>14</sup>

Hospital beds: No accurate information available. Physicians: Estimated prewar number, 130,000. Dentists: No accurate figures available.

Children are put to hard work at early age. Their lot is hard and cruel.

Citizen must obey orders of bureaucrats regardless of his conscience, or suffer punishment.

See Communism in Action, by Legislative Reference Service. See daily and periodical press, prewar and now.

Education. For Germany, however, Bureau had no figures for universities and other higher institutions. Universities were taken from Statesman's Yearbook, and proportional allowance was made for the 83 schools of higher education in addition to the 23 universities. Figures for Germany do not include Austria and Sudeten. Populations are from Statesman's Yearbook and encyclopedias. Japanese figures in all cases are for Japan proper and do not include Korea, Formosa, etc.

<sup>14</sup> Source of figures, Department of Commerce.

<sup>15</sup> Source of figures, Department of Commerce.

<sup>16</sup> Source of figures, Department of Commerce. War and postwar years used for figures because prewar receivers, in many of the countries, lumped together Morse code and voice receivers as "Radio."

## FASCISM

### Fruitage

Few theaters. All plays or pictures strictly censored by bureaucrats. Germany: Had 5,506. Italy: Had 4,013. Spain: (est.) Had 2,852. Japan: Had 1,875.<sup>14</sup>

Germany: Hospital beds (1939), 42,996. Physicians: (1939) 49,907. Dentists: (1938) 14,833.<sup>15</sup> Japan: Hospital beds (1938), 246,138. Physicians: (1938) 62,933. Dentists: (1938), 22,735.<sup>16</sup> Italy: Hospital beds (1939), (est.) 59,000. Physicians: (1940) 38,983. Dentists: (1943) 3,048.<sup>17</sup> Spain: Hospital beds: No accurate statistics available. Physicians: (1938) 22,582. Dentists: No accurate statistics available.<sup>18</sup>

Children were put to hard work at early age. Their lot was hard and cruel.

Citizen had to obey orders of bureaucrats regardless of his conscience, or suffer punishment.

See Fascism in Action, by Legislative Reference Service. See prewar daily and periodical press, and history.

<sup>14</sup> Department of Commerce figures.

<sup>15</sup> A. F. of L. Labor Monthly Survey, July 1947, p. 7.

<sup>16</sup> United States News, July 1947, giving source as U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

<sup>17</sup> U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

<sup>18</sup> Source of figures for 1939, U. S. Department of Commerce.

<sup>19</sup> Source of figures for 1940, U. S. Department of Commerce trade estimate for Spain.

<sup>20</sup> U. S. Public Health Service, American Medical Association, and American Dental Association.

# Duty of Teachers to Promote Ideals and Principles of American Democracy

by Ward W. Keesecker, Specialist in School Legislation

This government, . . . completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty.

George Washington—Farewell Address.

AMONG THE RIGHTS and freedoms of an American teacher is his right to promote and imbue in the minds of youth the ideals and principles of American democracy. Most State laws go farther; they make it his legal duty to do so. This is also his

patriotic duty, especially when our liberties and form of government are threatened. If it be the patriotic duty of every citizen to defend and if necessary to fight and to die for the preservation of his country's ideals and principles, by the same token it is the patriotic duty of every American teacher, both in war and in peace, to promote and inculcate those ideals and principles in the minds of American youth.

Daniel Webster gave us a basic political maxim in words of classic strength and clearness when he said:

The first object of a free people is the preservation of their liberty.

And Woodrow Wilson gave us the following unimpeachable educational and political philosophy:

No more vital truth was ever uttered than that freedom and free institutions cannot long be maintained by any people who do not understand the nature of their own government.

## Duties Provided by State Laws

The legal duties of teachers are set forth in numerous State laws. These laws represent the will of the people, and a public school teacher who fails to observe them himself fails in the first principle of representative government. Following are excerpts from a few State laws which indicate the teacher's responsibility in promoting an understanding of and devotion to American ideals and principles of government:

ARKANSAS: "The instilling into the hearts of . . . pupils [public and private] . . . of an understanding of the

United States and a love of country and a devotion to the principles of American Government shall be the primary object of such instruction [in American History].”

CALIFORNIA: "It is the duty of all teachers [public and private] to . . . impress upon the minds of pupils principles of . . . justice and patriotism . . . and to train them up to a true comprehension of the rights, duties and dignity of American citizenship."

**MARYLAND:** The public school program shall provide "that the love of liberty and democracy, signified in the devotion of all true and patriotic Americans to their flag and to their country, shall be instilled in the hearts and minds of the youth of America."

PENNSYLVANIA: "Instruction . . . in the history and government of the United States shall . . . have for its purpose the developing, teaching and presentation of the principles and ideals of the American Republic Representative form of government as portrayed and experienced by the acts and policies of the framers of the Declaration of Independence and . . . the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights . . ." The courses in American history and United States Constitution "shall . . . emphasize the good, worthwhile and best features and points of the social, economic and cultural development, . . . high standard of living of the United States citizen, the privileges enjoyed by such citizens, their heritage . . ." etc.

VERMONT: Teachers are required to "so organize, . . . and conduct" schools "so as most effectively will promote . . . good citizenship and patriotic loyalty to the United States and to its Constitution and laws."

WASHINGTON: "It shall be the duty of all teachers to . . . impress on the minds of their pupils the principles of . . . patriotism; to teach them . . . in the principles of free government, and to train them up to a true comprehension of the rights, duties and dignity of American citizenship."

“Loyalty and patriotism being necessary to the security and perpetuity of free government and a knowledge of the fundamental law being a chief source of such loyalty and patriotism, the study

*Digest of State laws requiring instruction in history and principles of American democracy, patriotism, etc.*

States	Constitutional government		History		Patriotism	Respect for the flag	Instruction required in ideals and principles of American democracy, civil government, duties of citizenship, etc.
	U. S. Constitution	State Constitution	United States	State			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Alabama	<sup>1</sup> x		x	x		x	American institutions and ideals. Civil government. Shall "instruct . . . in the principles of free government . . . duties and dignity of American citizenship" and "Declaration of Independence."
Arizona	x	x	x	x		x	
Arkansas	(?)		x		x	x	
California	<sup>1</sup> x		<sup>1</sup> x	x	x	x	
Colorado	<sup>1</sup> x	x		x		x	Duties of citizenship.
Connecticut	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x	x	<sup>1</sup> x	
District of Columbia	<sup>3</sup> x		<sup>3</sup> x				
Delaware	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x			x	x	
Florida	x		(?)	x		x	Instruction on Constitution must include a study of and devotion to American institutions and ideals.
Georgia	x	x					Instruction on Constitution must include a study of and devotion to American institutions and ideals.
Idaho	x				x	<sup>1</sup> x	"Principles of patriotism."
Illinois	x	x	x		x	x	"Principles of government as enunciated in the American Declaration of Independence" and the Federal and State Constitutions.
Indiana	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x			x	"Historical, political . . . economic and philosophical aspects" of the Federal and State Constitutions, and "lessons of steady influence, which tend to promote . . . an upright and desirable citizenry."
Iowa	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x	x		Principles of American government.
Kansas	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x	x	x	x	Patriotism and duties of American citizenship.
Kentucky						x	Courses prescribed by State Board of Education.
Louisiana	x	x	x				State Constitution requires instruction on State and Federal constitutional systems, and duties of citizenship.
Maine	x		<sup>1</sup> x			x	Civil government; principles of "our government."
Maryland			x	x			Community civics.
Massachusetts	x	x	x		x	x	Duties of citizenship; and "sacred regard for . . . love of . . . country."
Michigan	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x	x		Shall stress rights and responsibilities of citizens.
Minnesota	x				x		Declaration of Independence.
Mississippi			x	x	x	x	Duties and obligations of citizenship, "Americanism," respect for law.
Missouri	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x				Civics (State and Federal), principles of free government, rights, duties, and dignity of American citizenship.
Montana	x		x	x	x	x	
Nebraska	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x	x		
Nevada	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x	x		
New Hampshire	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x	x	x	x	x	History of American institutions.
New Jersey	<sup>1</sup> x	x	x	x	x		"Study of and devotion to American institutions and ideals."
New Mexico	x	x	x	x	x		Principles, duties, and responsibilities of citizenship.
New York	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x	x		x	x	Privileges and responsibilities of citizenship "with object of producing highest type of patriotic citizenship."
North Carolina	x		x	x	x	x	Declaration of Independence.
North Dakota	<sup>1</sup> x		x		x	x	Bill of Rights in Federal and State Constitutions; citizenship.
Ohio	x	x		x			"Americanism," respect for law, ideals of founders of our country, duties of citizenship, respect for national anthem.
Oklahoma	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x	x	x	<sup>1</sup> x	Civil government.
Oregon	<sup>1</sup> x	x	x		x	x	American government and citizenship.
Pennsylvania	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x	x	x	"The instilling into the hearts of . . . pupils of an understanding of the United States and a love of country and devotion to the principles of American government shall be the primary object of such instruction, which shall avoid, as far as possible, being a mere recital of dates."
Rhode Island	x	x	x	x	x	x	Shall stress services rendered by men who achieved our national independence, who established our constitutional government, and who preserved the Union; shall emphasize obedience to law, and lessons of a steady influence which tend to promote upright and desirable citizenry.
South Carolina	x	x	x	x	x	x	Including loyalty to United States; principles and ideals of American representative form of government as portrayed by the policies and framers of the Declaration of Independence, and Constitution of the United States and Bill of Rights.
South Dakota	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x	x		Principles of popular and representative government as enunciated in the State and Federal Constitutions.
Tennessee	x	x	x	x	x	x	Study of and devotion to American institutions and ideals.
Texas	x	x	x	x	x		Lives of American patriots.
Utah	<sup>1</sup> x	x				x	"Intelligent patriotism," duties of citizenship.
Vermont	<sup>6</sup> x	x	x	x	x		Emphasis on obedience to law, respect for Federal and State Constitutions; promote upright and desirable citizenry.
Virginia	x	x	x	x		x	Promote good citizenship and patriotic loyalty to United States and its Constitution and laws.
Washington	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x	x	x	x	Declaration of Independence, Virginia Statute of Religious Freedom, Virginia Bill of Rights.

See footnotes at end of table.



## Digest of State laws requiring instruction in history and principles of American democracy, patriotism, etc.—Continued.

States	Constitutional government		History		Patriotism	Respect for the flag	Instruction required in ideals and principles of American democracy, civil government, duties of citizenship, etc.
	U. S. Constitution	State Constitution	United States	State			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
West Virginia.....	<sup>1</sup> x	<sup>1</sup> x	x		x		For purpose of "fostering and perpetuating the ideals, principles and spirit of Americanism."
Wisconsin.....	<sup>1</sup> x		x	x		x	
Wyoming.....	x	x			x		Including Declaration of Independence and a study of and devotion to American institutions and ideals.

<sup>1</sup> Also required in private schools.

<sup>2</sup> Instruction in civil government required.

<sup>3</sup> By district school board regulation.

<sup>4</sup> Implied.

of the Constitution of the United States [and of the State] shall be a condition prerequisite to graduation from common and high schools . . ."

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Instruction is required in public and private schools in the Federal and State Constitutions and history of the United States "for the purpose of teaching, fostering and perpetuating the ideals, principles and spirit of Americanism . . ."

These laws make it clear as to what kind of democracy is to be taught. They refer to the ideals and principles of American democracy as enunciated by the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Federal and State constitutions.

The basic philosophy of our principles of freedom, vividly expressed by the founding fathers in the Declaration of Independence, runs as follows:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. . . .

The principles of liberty embodied in this statement and implemented by the Federal and State Constitutions and their bills of rights enhance the dignity and liberty of the individual. They provide for a liberal and progressive educational philosophy. These principles are not outworn by time, nor exhausted by use.

To educate for the preservation of American principles of freedom is the antithesis of indoctrination as it exists under totalitarian governments. In-

struction in these principles of freedom tends to keep the power in the hands of the people, which is the reverse of totalitarianism.

### Preservation of Freedom

Our Federal and State Constitutions probably provide more academic freedom and diversity of thought than the laws of any other country. However, State laws impose certain duties upon teachers which may not be avoided on the ground of academic freedom. Teachers are not at liberty to evade or disregard their responsibility for the carrying out of statutes which require them to teach the ideals and principles of American democracy. Moreover, statutes on this subject make untenable the teaching or arrangement of information in public schools which have the effect of promoting foreign "isms" and philosophies of government which are inimical to American ideals and principles, and many State laws specifically forbid such teaching. According to Lincoln, "No government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination."

No form of government can long endure in the modern world without the support of its educational system. Neither can it long survive without the respect, confidence, and loyal support of its youth. These are responsibilities which liberty enjoins upon the present and oncoming generation in America.

It is of course vital that a pupil should have the freedom to learn and to be inquisitive about various forms and philosophies of government. That freedom, however, ought not to be construed and applied so as to deny or

abridge the right of pupils to full benefit of history in the development of the principles of American liberty. On this subject George Washington deemed it appropriate to say:

We ought to deprecate the hazard attending ardent and susceptible minds from being too strongly and too early prepossessed in favor of other political systems before they are capable of appreciating their own.

State laws support the theory that a pupil in his immaturity and lack of understanding of history ought not to make a *blind* choice. He should have the benefit of experienced and qualified teachers. If it is important to give information and guidance as to what a child should eat, so is it equally important to give him information and guidance as to what should go into his mind with respect to governments in general in order that he may fully understand the facts of American liberty and government. A pupil is free to differ and to seek out new theories and views in the market of free trade in ideas.

The heritage of American youth includes his right to a thorough understanding of the ideals and principles of American constitutional government so that he may become an intelligent, loyal, and devoted citizen. It is his freedom and right to know that under our Federal and State Constitutions he is guaranteed the right of free speech, free press, freedom of choice in matters of private enterprise, politics, and religion. It is his right to know the facts of history—to know that our Federal and State Governments have doubtless provided more human rights, to more people, and over a longer period of time than has any other system of government yet established. It is his right to know the facts of history in the development of these rights, and to know the verdict of history in the experience with other systems of government.

### Digest of State Laws

This article is accompanied by a tabular digest of State laws requiring instruction in the history and principles of American Democracy, which shows the States requiring instruction on the Federal and State Constitutions, United States and State histories, patriotism, etc.

# FASCISM IN ACTION

## A Documented Study and Analysis of Fascism in Europe

*Prepared at the instance and under the direction of Representative Wright Patman of Texas by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress.*

(80th Congress, 1st Session—House Document No. 401)

*Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947. Available from the Superintendent of Documents, Price 40 cents.*

## A REVIEW by Earl Hutchinson, Field Representative, Division of Secondary Education

**H**ERE IS a carefully documented study which provides teachers with valuable reference material concerning fascism in Europe. It presents a painstakingly accurate picture of life under Fascist regimes, and a study of it causes those who are fortunate in living under the democratic way of life to ponder their blessings. These two ideologies differ from each other in one chief but fundamental concept: Fascism builds everything around the purposes of the state and makes the state preponderant; democracy holds the individual and his freedom and rights as basic and would build the welfare of society upon his freedom.

The transition to fascism from any other form of government is deceptively easy, for fascism progresses by steps and stages. Therefore, teachers need to acquaint themselves with the contents of this study, for in it are contained descriptions of procedures through which fascism was established in European states and the organization by which the totalitarian state maintained itself. The best means of fighting any "ism" is to recognize it, no matter under what title it masquerades.

Some people claim that fascism is more efficient than democracy. Even if the claim were true, most citizens of these United States would not seek to achieve efficiency under the Fascist method. The cost to the individual is great: The abolition of representative government, of individual liberty, of the rights of free speech, free assembly, free religion, a free press, and the principle

of equality before the law. Strangely enough, no really strong democracy has fallen before fascism despite its vaunted efficiency. The mighty war machine built by the boasted proficiency of Fascist Germany and Japan surrendered to the "decadent and inefficient" democracies. Fascism is a fighting philosophy; it needs violence and conflict to achieve its ends; it glories in might. Yet the strength of free people is greater than that of those whose entire lives are subordinated to the militant welfare of the state.

An examination of the document impresses one by its recital of the loss of freedoms under Fascist regimes. One by one, rights considered inalienable in a democracy were usurped by the Fascist state. No group of people was exempt. Lest the false claims of Fascists even in America beguile our citizens, teachers must help young people to detect fraudulent statements whenever they appear. Here are summarized some of the operations of Fascist Europe as given in various sections of the report.

Before the advent of fascism, the workers of Italy, Germany, and Spain enjoyed substantial freedom, individually as well as collectively. In addition, they were protected by social legislation. Unions were common in pre-Fascist states, and they were free to form national federations and confederations. However, fascism considers every worker as a component part of the productive and fighting capacity of the state; hence in those countries,

the dictators destroyed the freedom of labor that had existed before they came to power. Labor became the tool of Fascist government through carefully planned and subtle moves. New structures for labor organizations were evolved to include all industries and workers. Automatic or compulsory organization of and membership in new union was required. Soon, collective bargaining was ended, and the government assumed all functions involving wage rate setting and basic conditions of employment.

Agriculture held a favored spot in Fascist economy, chiefly because in case of war, the farm provided food essential to physical survival. The hereditary farm resulted, which could be held only by German citizens of Aryan descent; and it had to be of such a size as to fully maintain and support a peasant and his family. It could not be mortgaged, sold, or divided, and it could be inherited by only one principal heir. Stimuli to the growth of particular crops were given through price support, and good farm production was essential to the owner holding his farm. The farmers under fascism were regimented and propagandized, but compared to other sectors of the economy, their lot was generally more favorable even though there was a corresponding loss of freedom.

Germany and Italy had well-developed central banking systems that became the tools of the government. Policies were established by the Fascist governments, and banks became collectors of people's savings which found their way into government obligations or investments directed by the state. Banks were completely nationalized so that decisions on what services they could render were determined solely by the government on the basis of what ever the dictators decided was necessary.

Even the individual's use of leisure time was regimented by the Fascist government. The organization, use, and control of leisure time was regarded as a most important function of the state. A blending of work programs and leisure time programs made possible an uninterrupted series of propagandistic pressure throughout the day, from which there was no escape. Even organized vacations were planned by the



government. A few of the extensive devices designed to nationalize and control every moment of a human being's waking time were: Revival of folklore and traditions, establishment of youth programs, development of strength through games and sports, control of the radio, presentation of dazzling spectacles on holidays and anniversaries of political significance, purged literature, lectures, and coordination of the theatre with the National Socialist way of life.

Freedom of religion is inherent in a democracy. Fascism cannot accept the basic tenets of the Christian churches which consider God as the highest authority and individuals as His children with equal rights. Fascism and Christianity are therefore basically incompatible, as is evidenced by the relations between the two in fascist Germany. Step by step, Hitler moved to control the thoughts of both the Protestant and Catholic Churches. He attempted to unite the various sects of the Protestant faiths into a single national church responsive to the will of the state. When, in the Catholic Churches of Germany, the Bishops read the Pope's Encyclical, "With Burning Anxiety," which was a complete condemnation of Reich religious policies, the state retaliated with a wave of arrests and financial and police pressure. The churches resisted attempts to be fitted into the totalitarian machine, and it was only the end of the war and German fascism that prevented the final inevitable absorption of religion into the German state.

Fascists make their theories plausible; therein lies the danger. Witness Mussolini: "Far from crushing the individual, the Fascist State multiplies his energies, just as in a regiment a soldier is not diminished but multiplied by the number of his fellow soldiers." Therefore, the words of Representative Patman appropriately express this corollary to a study of fascism: "Democracy is not to be had for the wishing, and the best efforts of every American citizen should be devoted to its perpetuation and successful operation. Democracy and efficiency are compatible, but insinuations that we must choose between democratic participation in government and efficient government often emanate from Fascist sources."

Teachers of America, already strong

in their belief in democracy, and further armed with this understanding of the strategy leading to fascism, may

then reveal more clearly to American youth pitfalls besetting pre-Fascist Europe.

## COMMUNISM IN ACTION

**A Documented Study and Analysis of Communism  
in Operation in the Soviet Union**

*Prepared at the instance and under the direction of Representative Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress.*

**(79th Congress, 2d Session—House Document No. 754)**

*Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1946. Available from the Superintendent of Documents, Price 25 cents.*

### **A REVIEW** by Fitzhugh L. Hambrick, Specialist in Social Sciences, Division of Elementary Education

**C**OMMUNISM IN ACTION is by great odds the best source of facts available to American readers about communism as it is being applied in Russia today. In the foreword of this documented study Representative E. M. Dirksen wrote:

If farmers could but know what the Soviet system of agriculture is really like; if laboring men had a better working knowledge of the status of labor in the Soviet Union, and especially the system of forced labor which is so common; if people who are devoted to God and who value a free conscience above all else could better know how religion fares in the Soviet Union; if our people generally, who enjoy the highest living standard in any time or place, could know more about living standards under the Soviet scheme; if those who see in the free-enterprise system as it has been pursued in the United States for more than 150 years the greatest instrument for material human advancement could know a little more about industry and management in the Soviet Union; if those who at some time or other may have found themselves toying with the idea of bringing about a change in our form of constitutional representative government had a better perception of government and governmental methods under communism; if those who have at one time or another felt that a perplexing world required a planned existence, had a broader knowledge of how leisure

time is employed under communism; if those who feel that a regulated system of education might be preferable to the free system in the United States had a better perspective of how the educational system operated in the Soviet Union, it would halt the march of communism as nothing else could do.

*Communism in Action* contains 141 pages of carefully selected and painstakingly documented information. It provides the very kind of information Americans need to judge communism fairly and accurately. As a whole, it is a terrifying story of the imposition of a strange ideology upon a once illiterate people, who even now, are helpless victims of a minority dictatorship.

*Part I* of the report deals with the beginning of communism in the Soviet Union: The origin of 5-Year Plans; the operation of the Soviet productive system and how it contrasts with American economy; ill effects of communistic planning; profits in the Soviet economy; labor discipline; Soviet wage scales; forced labor; variations in standards of living among different grades of industrial workers, controlled agriculture, finance, and others.

*Part II* deals with political and social matters: The present structure of the

Soviet Government; the Communist Party; the judicial system; defense plans; the army, navy, and the air forces; and central Government control in education and leisure. The last item, a chart of major events which happened in Russia between the years of 1917 and 1946, could well serve as the basis of a good teaching outline on the Soviet Union for high school classes.

Communism has a dark record. On November 7, 1917, the Bolsheviks seized power through revolution. Immediately the Czar and his family were assassinated. All industrial concerns using machinery and employing more than five persons were seized and nationalized. Loans which had been made to Russia were repudiated. By 1920, private capital had been eliminated. Full control of the national economy had been achieved. This period was marked by great strife and violence. Trade stagnated; worthless paper money was issued; peasants reduced production; towns were deserted; and low standards of living had sunk even lower. In 1921 a New Economic Policy was begun. In 1926 this policy was followed by a series of 5-Year Plans. Currently the Soviet Union is in the fourth one. In 1927 Stalin became the Soviet's dictator.

Since coming to power in the U. S. S. R., the Communists have maintained their position by two methods: One, by winning positive support to their regime, and the other by destroying all opposition to it. To accomplish these ends they have devised new social methods, instruments, and institutions, and employed vast waves of propaganda. Some of their new inventions reflect high social purpose; others viciousness, even bestiality. By the use of shameless propaganda, they have made their best processes appear to the unwary to be much better than they really are. By the use of propaganda they have, in some cases, created a state of mind that refuses to believe that some of their new social inventions are as inhuman and evil as they really are.

The Constitution of the U. S. S. R. is an example of an "over-eulogized" communistic social instrument. Propagandists lauded it as the "world's

greatest instrument of democracy" and pointed out that its counterpart of the American "Bill of Rights" was longer and listed better rights than any other fundamental document. Propagandists also eulogized communistic social achievements in attaining unionization of all laborers in the Soviet Union. They hailed 100 percent membership in labor unions as a democratic triumph. In like manner they spread wide the fact that all workers received equal wages.

The truths are that a constitution is not even regarded as a fundamental and inviolable document in the U. S. S. R.

### Educational Meetings

(From page 24)

*National Association of Colleges and Departments of Education*, Feb. 22, Atlantic City, N. J. Secretary, WILLIAM S. TAYLOR, College of Education, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky.

*National Association of Secondary School Principals (NEA)*, Feb. 21-25, Atlantic City, N. J. Secretary, PAUL E. ELICKER, 1201 Sixteenth Street NW., Washington 6, D. C.

*National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education and Certification*, February 23-24, Atlantic City, N. J. Secretary R. E. JAGGERS, State Department of Education, Frankfort, Ky.

*National Association of State High School Supervisors and Directors of Secondary Education*, February 24, Atlantic City, N. J. Secretary, EARLE T. HAWKINS, State Department of Education, Baltimore 1, Md.

*National Society for the Study of Education*, February 26, Atlantic City, N. J. Secretary, NELSON B. HENRY, 5835 Kimbark Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

*National Council on Measurements Used in Education*, February 24-25, Atlantic City, N. J. Secretary, FRANK S. WHITE, Fairmount State College, Fairmount, W. Va.

It is viewed as a set of social objectives, not basic law. Citizens of the Soviet Union are not guaranteed the rights that are listed in their Constitution. Moreover, the Communist Party is the only legal political party in the Soviet Union. This Party not only interprets the Constitution but determines the extent to which it may be enforced. Labor unions in the U. S. S. R. are not instruments through which labor expresses itself. They are instruments for communistic domination of labor. Labor there has no freedom. At one time there was equality of wages among various classes of labor in Russia. This policy was soon abolished. Today wage inequalities are greater among various classes of workers than in the United States.

An example of social invention of the Communists, which is so horrible that it is hard for many people to believe, is the communistic institution of forced labor. Forced labor camps were established in 1923. Political offenders, non-conforming engineers, intellectuals, recalcitrant peasants, Party members who deviated in their faith, and other dissenters are crowded into these camps. These workers, men and women alike, labor in mines, build railroads, cut logs, clear and drain swamps. They exist on starvation diets in filth and squalor. About 30 percent of them die annually. Considering this high death rate and the fact that about 15,000,000 wretched men and women are in these camps today, one readily infers the extent to which this vicious system is relied upon by Communists to maintain themselves in power.

Other examples of diabolical communistic inventions are the Communist secret police, fiendish methods of securing confessions of guilt from the innocent, banishment of persons not acceptable to the Communists, and the creation of a state in which every citizen is dependent body and soul upon the communistic regime for all the dire necessities of a lowly life. These cannot be discussed here in detail. *Communism in Action* offers educators the truth on these matters and a basis for a full and fair appraisal of the communistic regime.



# Zeal for American Democracy

## Reading List for Teachers and Mature Students

**THIS LIST** contains some publications which should be helpful to teachers and others who wish to review the problems involved in the functioning of democracy in America and who wish to acquire an understanding of Communist activity and the U. S. S. R. It is not a complete list, but rather is intended to be representative of a part of the material which is available on the subject.

Among the criteria used for the inclusion of books and pamphlets were the following: (1) Direct bearing of the publication on the zeal for American democracy project; (2) accurate presentation of pertinent facts; and (3) probable availability through purchase or use at libraries.

Since it is planned to issue supplementary lists on the subject from time to time, it is hoped that teachers and others will recommend to the Office of Education other books and pamphlets which should be considered for inclusion.

### Democracy and Education

American Association of School Administrators. *Schools for a New World*. Washington, D. C., American Association of School Administrators, a Department of the National Education Association of the United States, 1947. 448 p. (Twenty-fifth Yearbook.) \$2.50.

Attempts to state the basic problems and issues which face our society; to indicate the potentiality of public education as a chief instrumentality in the successful resolving of these issues; to give direction to curriculum makers in several vital areas; to show public education in action in desirable directions in small, medium-sized, and large communities and on the State level; and to suggest criteria for the evaluation of the program of education in any community.

Association for Childhood Education. *Toward Democratic Living at School*. Washington, D. C., Association for Childhood Education, 1943. 31 p. 35 cents.

Contents: Objectives of Self-realization—Realizing Individual Possibilities, by Claudia Lewis; Objectives of Civic Responsibility—Becoming Intelligent Citizens, by Lucile Allard; Objectives of Economic Efficiency—

Assuming Responsibilities and Learning Values, by Mollie S. Smart; Objectives of Human Relationships—Learning to Appreciate Others, by Ruth Streitz; What Makes a Favorable School Environment, by William S. Elsbree; Evaluations—A Pattern to be Lived Cooperatively, and other titles.

Burdette, Franklin L. *Political Parties: An American Way*. Indianapolis, Ind., National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship, 1945. 32 p. (Basic American Concepts Series.) 10 cents.

Describes the importance of the two-party system in our form of government and indicates the citizen's role in the organization and work of political parties.

Cushman, Robert E. *Safeguarding Our Civil Liberties*. New York, Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1947. 31 p. (Public Affairs Pamphlets, No. 43, rev.) 20 cents.

Discusses dangers to civil liberty in war and in peace; the Bill of Rights and the liberties which are protected by it; protection of civil liberty in our federal system; and safeguards to civil liberty.

Department of Elementary School Principals. *Learning World Goodwill in the Elementary School*. Washington, D. C., National Education Association, 1946. 366 p. (Twenty-fifth Yearbook) (Bulletin of the Department of Elementary School Principals, vol. 26, No. 1.) \$2.

Discusses the basic educational process of forming attitudes and the unique service of the elementary school in the process. Reports community programs, separate school programs, and activities undertaken in single classrooms and in separate curriculum fields, and in the education of teachers.

National Council for the Social Studies. *Citizens for a New World*. Washington, D. C., National Council for the Social Studies, A Department of the National Education Association, 1944. 186 p. (Fourteenth Yearbook.) \$2.

Contents: Planning peace to preserve the victory; The interdependence of nations and individuals; Liquidating the war—economic and social rehabilitation; Liquidating the war—problems of international health; Plans for international organization; Education for a new world order; The stake of the United States in international organization; and International relations for secondary schools.

National Council for the Social Studies. *Democratic Human Relations*. Promising Practices in Intergroup and Intercultural Education in the Social Studies. Washington, D. C., National Council for the Social Studies, A Department of the National Education Association, 1945. 366p. (Sixteenth Yearbook.) \$2.

Discusses the purposes of intergroup and intercultural education; curriculum problems; planning learning activities; practices in social studies courses in elementary and secondary schools, study units; school activities; community utilization; guidance; materials and sources. Shows the need for pioneering in all aspects of democratic human relations.

Russell, William F. and Briggs, Thomas H. *The Meaning of Democracy*. New York, Macmillan Co., 1941. 413 p. \$1.48.

Outlines the story of the development of democracy, indicating the strengths and weaknesses of the opposition and making clear the more important meanings that democracy has come to have; presents in the form of a creed a set of detailed statements which define what democracy seems to mean today; and contains readings in democracy as suggested in the first part of the book. It includes suggestions for study, and a series of pertinent questions on the creed of democracy.

Wilson, Howard E. *Teaching the Civil Liberties: A Source Unit*. Washington, D. C., The National Council for the Social Studies, a Department of the National Education Association, 1941. 40 p. (Bulletin No. 16.) 30 cents.

Presents a source unit on the civil liberties which not only suggests ways in which a substantial unit on civil liberty can be developed for the high school level, but also suggests ways in which aspects of the study of civil liberties may be included in a course in American history, world history, and English literature.

Wrightstone, J. Wayne and Campbell, Doak S. *Social Studies and the American Way of Life*. Evanston, Ill., Row, Peterson and Company, 1942. 292 p. (Basic Education Teachers Series.) \$2.

Deals with the purposes of social education in a democracy, with four areas of learning or experiences in social education, with evaluating the growth and development of democratic personality; designed to be a guide for teachers in the elementary and in the secondary schools.

## The Soviet Union and Communist Methods

Chamberlin, William Henry. *Collectivism; A False Utopia*. New York, Macmillan Company, 1937. 265 p. \$2.

Proposes to show that collectivism, both in its Communist and in its Fascist forms, is a false Utopia, on the basis of the demonstrable facts of the Soviet, German, and Italian experiments.

Counts, George S. and Lodge, Nucia P. *"I want to be like Stalin."* New York, John Day Company, 1947. 150 p. \$2.

This is a translation by G. S. Counts and N. P. Lodge of a Russian textbook on pedagogy written by B. P. Yesipov and N. K. Goncharov. A 33-page introduction was written by G. S. Counts. The Russian portion of the book was written for teachers in the U.S.S.R. It shows how the Communists indoctrinate children for a totalitarian society.

Deane, John Russell. *The Strange Alliance: The Story of our Efforts at Wartime Cooperation with Russia*. New York, Viking Press, 1947. \$3.75.

Describes the numerous difficulties which the U. S. Military Mission to Russia encountered during World War II. Declares that Soviet leadership is inspired "by the urge to spread communism throughout the world. It is unscrupulous in accomplishing its ideological purpose."

Gitlow, Benjamin. *I Confess: The Truth About American Communism*. New York, E. P. Dutton and Co., 1940. 611 p. \$3.75.

An account by a former active Communist of methods employed by the Party to gain power in the United States.

Koestler, Arthur. *Darkness at Noon*. Translated by Daphne Hardy. New York, Macmillan Company, 1941. 267 p. \$3.

Tells the story of a fictitious character, N. S. Rubaskov, whose life is a synthesis of the lives of a number of men who were victims of the so-called Moscow trials.

Library of Congress, Legislative Reference Service. *Communism in Action*. A Documented Study and Analysis of Communism in Operation in the Soviet Union, Prepared at the Instance and Under the Direction of Representative Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress Under the Direction of Ernest S. Griffith. Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1946. 141 p. (79th Congress, 2d Session. House Document No. 754.) 25 cents.

Describes the operation of the economic, political, and social institutions of the Soviet Union in recent years. Part 1 deals with the Soviet economic system. Part 2 discusses government, national defense, education, the use of leisure time, religion, and the Soviet definition of freedom as contrasted with American ideas of freedom.

Library of Congress, Legislative Reference Service. *Fascism in Action*. A Documented Study and Analysis of Fascism in Europe, Prepared at the Instance and Under the Direction of Representative Wright Patman of Texas, by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress. Under the Direction of Ernest S. Griffith. Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947. 206 p. (80th Congress, 1st Session. House Document No. 401.) 40 cents.

Presents an accurate picture of life under fascist regimes in Europe, showing various stages of progress to complete authoritarian control. Government treatment of labor, agriculture, religion, banking, leisure time, transportation, political parties, and education is explained. A foreword by Representative Patman illuminates the danger of fascism in U. S.

Library of Congress, Legislative Reference Service. *Trends in Russian Foreign Policy Since World War I*. Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947. 68 p. 15 cents.

This report was printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations. It is an excellent resumé of foreign policy in Russia. It is organized on a day, month, year chronology. A copy of this documented report would be useful to a high school class engaged in a study of Russo-world relationships.

Oneal, James and Werner, G. A. *American Communism*. New York, E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1947, 416 p. \$5.

A critical analysis of the origin and development of communism in America. Attention is given to historical and current Communist aims in America and methods of operation.

Schwartz, Harry. *Russia's Postwar Economy*. Syracuse, N. Y., Syracuse University Press, 1947. 119 p. \$1.

An appraisal of the present Soviet industrial and agricultural situation with a view to providing a background against which current and probable future moves, both economic and military, can be evaluated.

## American Democracy

### Selected Reading List Suitable for Elementary and Secondary School Students

Compiled by Nora E. Beust, Specialist,  
School and Children's Libraries

#### Our Heritage

Aulaire, Mrs. I. M. d' and Aulaire, E. P. d'. *Abraham Lincoln*. Illus. by the authors. New York, Doubleday & Co., 1939. 55 p. \$2.50.

A picture book biography of the man who held a great nation together. The rich color, imagination, humor, and attention to detail appeal to young readers. Elementary.

Carmer, C. L., comp. *America Sings*; stories and songs of our country's growing; collected and told by Carl Carmer. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1942. 243 p. \$3.

America's work and growing are reflected in the songs and folk tales of heroes from the fields, mines, rivers, and forests. Elementary and secondary.

Daugherty, James. *Abraham Lin-*

coln. Illus. by the author. New York, Viking Press, Inc., 1943. 216 p. \$3.50.

The patience, strength, and understanding of Lincoln are expressed in this appreciation of his contribution to mankind. Upper elementary and secondary.

Daugherty, James. *Poor Richard*. Illus. by the author. New York, Viking Press, Inc., 1941. 158 p. \$2.50.

The biography of a most distinguished American statesman who believed "Well done is better than well said." Upper elementary and secondary.

Eaton, Jeanette. *Leader by Destiny*. Illus. by Jack Manley Rose. New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1938. 402 p. \$5.

A biography that describes the development of Washington from youth to forceful leadership of a liberty-loving people. Elementary and secondary.



Eaton, Jeanette. *Lone Journey*. Illus. by Woodi Ishmael. New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1944. 266 p. \$2.50.

The story of the man who won the battle for religious freedom in America and also created a democratic government about which he said, "Governmental agencies have not the least inch of civil power but what is measured out to them from the free consent of the whole." Upper elementary and secondary.

Eaton, Jeanette. *Narcissa Whitman*. Illus. by Woodi Ishmael. New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1941. 318 p. \$2.50.

The life of a pioneer woman, typical of the courage and rich humanity that made it possible to establish the outposts of our civilization in the West. Upper elementary and secondary.

Graham, Shirley and Lipscomb, G. D. *Dr. George Washington Carver, Scientist*. Illus. by Elton C. Fax. New York, Julian Messner, Inc., 1944. 248 p. \$2.50.

An account of the achievements of this eminent Negro educator and agricultural scientist in his work through the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. Upper elementary and secondary.

Gray, E. J. *Penn.* Illus. by George Whitney. New York, Viking Press, Inc., 1938. 298 p. \$2.50.

The story of William Penn's fight for right and freedom has added significance today when the principles of democracy are being threatened by totalitarian countries. The colonial constitution of Pennsylvania later served as a model for the United States Constitution. Upper elementary and secondary.

Lawson, Robert. *They Were Strong and Good*. Illus. by author. New York, Viking Press, Inc., 1940. 64 p. \$1.50.

The childhood impressions of the writer's father and mother and of their fathers and mothers are similar to the memories cherished by many Americans. Elementary.

Petersham, Mrs. Maud and Petersham, Miska. *An American ABC*. Illus. by the authors. New York, Macmillan Co., 1941. 52 p. \$2.

A gay picture book that presents a panorama of our national heritage. It begins with "A is for America, the land I love" and closes with "Z is for Zeal, an American trait." Elementary.

Van Loon, H. W. *Thomas Jefferson*. Illus. by the author. New York, Dodd, Mead & Co., Inc., 1943. 106 p. \$2.50.

"The serene citizen from Monticello who gave us an American way of thinking and who gained world-wide renown by his noble understanding of that most difficult of all the arts—the art of living as he felt that it should be practiced in the Republic of which he was one of the founders."—*Subtitle*. Upper elementary and secondary.

### Our Challenge

Bennett, H. H. and Pryor, W. C. *This Land We Defend*. New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1942. 107 p. \$1.50.

The authors stress the facts that democratic processes have been employed successfully in the fight to conserve the soil and that there is urgent need to continue to work to save our productive land. Upper elementary and secondary.

Cooley, D. G. and others. *Your World Tomorrow*. New York, Essential Books, 1944. 252 p. \$2.50.

An account of the scientific progress that has been made or that is predicted by the men and women with technological knowledge who are testing, studying, and making blueprints for tomorrow's world. Upper elementary and secondary.

Elting, Mary, in collaboration with Margaret Gossett. *We are the Government*. Charts and pictures by Jeanne Bendick. New York, Doubleday & Co., 1945. 90 p. \$2.

A graphic presentation of how the men who wrote the Constitution of the United States more than 150 years ago devised a simple working plan for the type of democratic government we want. Upper elementary and secondary.

Fitch, F. M. *One God; The Ways We Worship Him*. Photographs chosen by Beatrice Creighton. New York, Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co., 1944. 144 p. \$2.

"But even though they all worship one God, all people do not worship in just the same way. In America each person may make his own choice. Freedom of religion is one of the rights of free men."—*Preface*. Upper elementary and secondary.

Floherty, J. J. *The Courage and the Glory*. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Co., 1942. 188 p. \$2.25.

It is the author's hope that the stories he tells will be an answer to those who have wondered if American youth has deteriorated and American manhood has gone soft. Upper elementary and secondary.

Hartman, Gertrude. *The Making of a Democracy*. New York, John Day Co., 1941. 302 p. \$2.

An account of the laborious beginnings and development of freedom and justice in government in the Old World and our own struggle for a new government in the New World. There is a section on the differences between life in a dictatorship and life in a democracy. The last chapter stresses the fact that, "We cannot hope to keep our freedom unless we are willing to accept the responsibilities which democracy places upon every one of its citizens. Our country will grow greater and better only as her citizens are able to make it so, for the greatness of any country depends upon the character of its people."

Leaf, Munro. *Fair Play*. Philadelphia, Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1939. 94 p. \$1.50.

Readers are told how citizens in a democracy determine what kind of rules and laws and government are best. Elementary.

Sechrist, E. H. *Red Letter Days*. Illus. by Guy Fry. Philadelphia, Macrae Smith Co., 1940. 252 p. \$2.

The significance of the holidays that have developed in relation to our own history and growth and the traditions associated with the feast days of the Old World that we keep alive. Upper elementary and secondary.

Swift, H. H. *North Star Shining*. Illus. by Lynd Ward. New York, William Morrow & Co., 1947. 44 p. \$2.50.

A dramatic chronicle of the contributions made by the Negro to America. Upper elementary and secondary.

Tarshis, E. K. *Look at America*. Illus. by Harold Haydon. New York, Robert M. McBride & Co., 1942. 90 p. \$2.

"America is more than land. America is people. It is the work they do, the food they eat, the houses they live in, the way they live." Elementary.

*Told Under the Stars and Stripes*. Stories Selected by the Literature Committee of the Association for Childhood Education. Illus. by Nedda Walker. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1945. 347 p. \$2.

This collection of simple stories about peoples from other countries who have brought to us the riches of their customs and traditions aids in the understanding of America. Elementary.

*When Our Town Was Young; Stories of North Salem's Yesterday*; collected and written by boys and girls of today; Ed. by Frances Eichner and H. F. Tibbets. North Salem, N. Y., The Board of Education, 1945. 170 p. \$2.

What the boys and girls of the seventh grade in North Salem, New York, found out about the history of their town through the use of human and recorded resources. Upper elementary and secondary.

# "I WANT TO BE LIKE STALIN"

Translated and edited by George S. Counts and Nucia P. Lodge. 150 p. New York, The John Day Co., 1947. (\$2.)

## Review by Earl Hutchinson, Field Representative, Secondary Education

**T**HIS BOOK is a primary source for understanding Soviet education, doctrines, institutions, and purposes. It constitutes an "uncensored exhibit of the Russian mind and outlook on the world." It is a translation of the sections on moral education of a textbook on "Pedagogy" written by Soviet educators and approved by the Ministry of Education for teacher training. The material thus reflects the controlling ideas and principles of the leaders of the Soviet Union as well as their concepts of the theory and practice of education.

An interesting feature of the book is the introduction by George S. Counts, who has long been an intense student of Russian life. In his introduction, Dr. Counts raises these vital questions: "What are the Soviet leaders 'up to'? What are their plans for the long future? . . . What may we expect from the Soviet leaders in the years ahead? . . . If we knew the answers, we could shape our own policies with more assurance."

### Certain Tendencies Revealed

An examination of the Soviet education program reveals certain tendencies which throw light on these questions:

- (1) "The Russians undoubtedly are building in the minds of the young two great myths—one about themselves and the other about the rest of the world";
- (2) the current emphasis on Soviet patriotism is integrated with Marxian doctrine and does not necessarily imply a retreat from the internationalism of the original Bolsheviks;
- (3) the "Russians are building in the minds of the young a perfectly fantastic loyalty to Stalin and the Communist Party";
- (4) the emphasis on military training, the development of bitter hatred of all enemies, and the disciplining of its people indicate that they are "relying on their own strength to meet all eventualities and overcome

all hazards in the realm of international relations";

- (5) the absence of the word democracy in the Russian educational program indicates that to the Russians, communism is truly democratic; similarly, the omission of reference to the harshness and tyranny of Soviet society implies that conflict between the individual and the state cannot exist;
- (6) the Russian Communists appear to be converting the writings of their four major prophets—Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin—into a vast sacred scripture. The very title of this book is meant to reflect the religious quality of the Soviet outlook on the world. As Dr. Counts phrased it: "I want to be like Stalin" is the equivalent of "I want to be like Jesus" in the Christian community."

A study of this book has two values to the American teacher and school administrator. As a basic Soviet document, not written for foreign consumption, it furnishes through what it says about rearing the young as accurate and nonpropagandist a presentation of Russian ideology as can be secured. The purposes and intentions of the Russian leadership are herein disclosed. The pedagogy of the Soviet school system will also be of professional interest to American educators. Points of similarity and difference appear in methods of instruction as well as in fundamental purposes of education.

The control of Russian education by the Communist Party makes it possible to mould the minds and thoughts of a new generation of citizens along lines determined by high Soviet officials. Naturally, the program embraces a thorough indoctrination of collectivism to the end of developing a type of personality necessary to the successful functioning of individuals in a communistic social order. However, the Soviets go further and poison the minds of their children against outside countries and

belittle the ideals and achievement of the rest of the world.

A reading of this book should help teachers to become more aware of the tremendous influence they exert upon behavior patterns of youth. There is going on in Russia a remaking of the mind of the younger generation. Youth is called upon to raise the standards of living of the entire population; to be concerned with the welfare of fellow workers; to respect all races and nationalities of the Soviet Union, the weak and aged, the family, and Soviet authority. The Soviet too proclaims an idealism of equality, justice, security, and peace. To be successful in the ongoing ideological war, Americans must prove that our way of life with its liberty and freedom is superior to a dictatorship in securing such conditions.

While the Russian book on "Pedagogy" stresses the individual and his place in society, there seems to be little recognition of varying abilities among children. All are supposed to be able to master their lessons. Considerable attention is given to devices designed to create a desire by the child to improve.

All instructions to teachers emphasize the mores of Soviet life, analyze the habits, skills, and attitudes necessary for its development, and give direction as to how these aims may be achieved. Stalin is pictured as a model of humanness who devotes his life to helping the worker and who concerns himself with the education of every Russian child. This interesting statement is attributed to him: "People must be grown carefully and tenderly, just as the gardener grows a favorite fruit tree. They must be cultivated, helped to grow, given perspective, at times advanced and at times transferred to other work."

Many Soviet statements concerning both collectivism and education sound plausible; however, they cannot be accepted at full face value. Russian interpretation of any utterance is colored by their ideology. It is then extremely important for American teachers and youth to realize that thoughts which appear reasonable when expressed by the Russians do not necessarily mean what we think they do. A study of the book "I want to be like Stalin," clarifies the immense difference in basic concepts between two modes of life.